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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

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Universal History.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Conqueſts, Settlements, and Diſcoveries of the Dutch in the Eaſt Indies, comprehending the Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and ſucceſsful Eſtabliſhment of their Eaſt India Company, the Nature of their Conſtitution, the Extent of their Dominions, the Importance of their Commerce, the Form of Rule eſtabliſhed in their Colonies, as alſo the domeſtic Oeconomy of the Company, and how they are ſubject to the States of the United Provinces.

SECT. IX.

Their Conduct in reſpect of the Chineſe, and other Eaſtern Nations. The War of Formoſa; and the Cauſes of the Loſs of that fruitful Iſland, and important Colony.

ALL the ſucceſſes which the company had met with could not make them forget their ſeveral diſappointments in their attempts to ſettle, or force a trade to China: they could not bear with patience, that while they were eſteemed and courted by all the other nations in the Eaſt, they ſhould be neglected by the government of China, and even treated with apparent averſion; they could not ſee without concern the Portugueſe in poſſeſſion

The company reſume their deſign of procuring an intercourſe with China.

session of Macao, or digest the affront they had received when they attacked that place; and therefore, to overcome all these obstacles, the governor-general and council at Batavia resolved to send an embassy to the Chinese monarch, with magnificent presents, and with such plausible propositions, as they thought it impossible he should reject. At the head of this embassy were Peter Boyer and James Keysel, men of great parts, and long versed in business, who set out from Batavia in the month of June, 1655, and arriving safely at Canton, communicated to the viceroy the subject of their commission, and desired they might be sent to the imperial residence. The emperor of China was then in the city of Pe-kin, to whose presence, after a stay of eight or nine months, they were admitted; and from the civility shewn at their first audience, had great hopes of success; but they soon discovered that there were persons who traversed all their designs, and found means to misrepresent all the propositions they made [a].

But are defeated in that project by the secret intrigues of the Jesuits at the court of Pe-kin.

The chief of their enemies was father Adam Schaal, a Jesuit, and a native of Cologne in Germany: he had resided in China upwards of five-and-thirty years, and had wrought himself so far into the emperor's favour, that he raised him to a mandarin of the first rank, and placed him at the head of all the philosophers and mathematicians in the empire. This man, by his great interest and knowlege, baffled the designs of the Dutch; for he represented them as a people without any lands or settlements in Europe, who lived merely by peddling and piracy, and had, by treachery and cruelty, raised themselves a large empire in the Indies, at the expence of the natives, and more especially of such princes as, suffering themselves to be deceived by fair pretences, had admitted them into their dominions, and thereby afforded them an opportunity of distressing them and their subjects. The Chinese, naturally suspicious, having once these notions in their heads, began to put such questions to the Dutch ambassadors as might best enable them to judge of the truth of what they had been told. Upon their asking at how great a distance the seat of their government lay from China, they answered, about five thousand leagues. Being interrogated as to the power and strength of the colony at Batavia, they gave such answers as were true in themselves, and likely to create respect; but these were precisely things that turned most to their disadvantage, because they seemed exactly to agree with what father Schaal had laid down; so that towards the latter end of the year 1657, the ambassadors

[a] Neuville Hist. van Holland, 11 deel. lib. xi. cap. 7.

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quitted China, without being able to make any progress in the execution of their commission, so strong were the apprehensions the Chinese had of their danger, in case these strangers were admitted to trade in the ports of their empire [b].

Zachary Waghenaer very successful in his two embassies to the court of Japan.

But if disappointed in their hopes from a negociation in China, they had better success in Japan, to which country they sent Zachary Waghenaer, with the title of ambassador to the emperor, with orders to use his utmost endeavours to gain a perfect knowlege of the policy of that empire, and to make himself likewise as agreeable as possible to the emperor and his ministers; which commission he was very capable of performing, being a man of deep reach, great experience, and extremely affable in his deportment. He had not been long, however, at Jeddo before a sudden fire reduced that city to ashes, an accident which occasioned such confusion at the court of Japan, as induced the Dutch ambassador to return home [c]. He was scarce arrived at Batavia before news came that great disputes had arisen between the Japanese at Nangasaqui and the Dutch settled in their factory there, a circumstance which alarmed the general and council so much, that they obliged Mr. Waghenaer, much against his will, to make a second voyage to Japan, where he did not arrive till the beginning of the month of March, 1659. He found means to ingratiate himself with the emperor and his chief minister; and by promising two things on the part of the Dutch, obtained all that he could reasonably ask in their favour. The first was, that they should give early intelligence of any designs that might be formed in the Philippines to the prejudice of the empire; the second, that they should forbear taking Chinese ships upon the coast of Japan, because the emperor allowing the Chinese to trade in his dominions, it was but reasonable he should protect them [d].

A fresh war breaks out in Java, in which Batavia is besieged by the king of Bantam.

While these negociations were carrying on in the most distant parts of the East, there arose a new war in Java, which threatened ruin to the Dutch affairs. We shall give a concise view of the whole matter from the Dutch histories. The island of Java had been anciently under the power of a single monarch, sometimes styled by the Dutch simply the emperor, and at others king of Japara, from whom the governor of Bantam revolted, assumed the title of king, and was supported in this quality of an indepen-

[b] Basnage Annales des Provinces-unies, vol. i. p. 450, 451. [c] P. Charlevoix Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 449. [d] Neuville Hist. van Holland, 11 deel. lib. xi. cap. 7.

dent prince by the Dutch. It was by a dextrous management of these divisions that they maintained their own power; for, whenever the emperor of Java attempted any thing to the prejudice of Batavia, the king of Bantam was sure to take arms; as, on the other hand, whenever the king of Bantam took the field against them, they never failed to have recourse to the emperor of Java [e]. But, in the year 1659, the emperor being much embarrassed at home, the king of Bantam laid hold of this favourable opportunity to raise a great army, and to attack the Dutch; supposing, that as they were now deprived of the emperor's assistance, he should soon be able to make himself master of Batavia, to which he laid siege. He found himself, however, mistaken; for the company was become so potent, that they were able to defend themselves by their own strength; which they did so effectually, that, after the loss of a great part of his forces, the king of Bantam was obliged to raise the siege, and even to retire precipitately into his own dominions [f]. The emperor of Java, or king of Japara, had still less success; for though he inherited, from his father, an invincible hatred to the company, yet they made him feel the effects of their power, and suffer severely for his obstinacy, though they never were able to conquer it, or to prevail upon him, either by fair or foul means, to have any correspondence with them.

The company restore the king of Bengâl, and find their account in it sufficiently.

These disturbances did not hinder the governor and council from engaging in a foreign war, for the support of one of their allies, the king of Bengâl, who was in great danger of being dethroned by his brother. At first, the Dutch only furnished him with provisions and artillery, and offered him, in case he was expelled, a sanctuary at Batavia; but afterwards finding that a considerable part of his subjects adhered to him firmly, they sent over troops to his assistance, and not only delivered him from the immediate danger he was in, but restored him to his former dignity. In gratitude for this seasonable assistance, he gave them leave not only to erect a factory, but a fort, at Hughley. It was by these means that they ruined the English trade there, and secured all the commerce of those parts to themselves, at least for some time.

Make war on the king of Macassar, and force him to an ignominious peace.

Yet these remarkable instances of good fortune could not efface the remembrance of their miscarriage in China, much less incline them to forgive the Jesuits, to whom they attributed the defeat of that embassy. To be revenged

[e] Tavernier Voyages des Indes, p. ii. liv. iii. [f] Neuville Hist. van Holland, 11 deel. xi. lib. xi. cap. 8.

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on the authors of this disgrace, they equipped a fleet of thirty sail, with orders to sail to the island of Macassar, and to attack the city of the same name, in the port of which they knew there was a Portuguese fleet, richly laden, wherein the Jesuits were deeply concerned [g]. On the 7th of June, 1660, the Dutch attacked Macassar by land and sea; and though the Indian monarch defended his allies with his whole force, yet the Dutch obtained a complete victory, burnt three Portuguese ships, sunk two, and took one, so richly laden, that it sufficiently reimbursed the expence of the Chinese embassy, as well as of this expedition. What was still more honourable for the Dutch, the unfortunate king of Macassar was obliged to send a solemn embassy, at the head of which was the king of Pope, to Batavia, and to submit to such terms as the governor-general thought fit to prescribe; which were hard enough, since he was obliged not only to expel all the Portuguese settled in his dominions, but also to promise that he would never admit them, or any Europeans, to reside in his territories, with the liberty of trading The fortress and port of Jompandam, with the district, of between three and four leagues round about it, were to remain in property to the Dutch East India company; the Jesuits were to be expelled, their colleges razed, their churches beaten down, and their effects confiscated to the use of the company: and the king was to send an embassador, with suitable presents, to the governor-general, to obtain the ratification of the treaty, even upon these disgraceful terms [h].

An account of the noble and flourishing colony of the Dutch in Formosa.

But immediately after all this mighty success, the Dutch company received the severest check they had ever met with since their establishment in the Indies. They had at this time a very fine settlement on the island of Formosa, one of the fairest and most fruitful countries in the East, abounding with all the necessaries of life, producing various rich commodities, and affording an opportunity thereby of carrying on a vast commerce. They had built, for the protection of their colony, a square fort, with large bastions, and below these, towards the sea, they had another fortification, which covered the palace of their governor, consisting of two regular bastions, an excellent covered-way, and four halfmoons, the whole

[g] Basnage Annales des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 624. [h] Tavernier Voyages des Indes, p. ii. liv. iii. chap. 19. Gervaise Description Historique du Royaume de Macaçar, p. 57.

united to the fort by very ſtrong walls, defended by a great number of cannon, and conſtantly ſupplied with a numerous garriſon. The town was long and large, extremely well peopled, and the inhabitants, from ſeven years old and upwards, being charged with a poll-tax, at the rate of half a guilder a head, produced a revenue more than ſufficient to defray the expences neceſſary for the maintenance of this important colony. Such, indeed, it might be well ſtyled, ſince, by its ſituation, at the diſtance only of twenty-four leagues from the coaſt of China, and one hundred and fifty from Japan, it afforded the means of carrying on, with the greateſt eaſe, a trade to both, that was inexpreſſibly beneficial [i]. The Chineſe, in the year 1653, had laid a very deep deſign for the deſtruction of the Dutch in this iſland, by an univerſal conſpiracy amongſt the natives; which, however, had not the deſired effect; for, being diſcovered in time, it was abſolutely defeated. This piece of good fortune made thoſe who were entruſted with the care of the company's affairs at Batavia, in regard to this ſettlement, much more remiſs than is uſual with this nation; inſomuch, that they neglected the fortifications, and ſuffered their magazines to be exhauſted, while, by a ſteady and undiverted application to trade, they were labouring to advance their private fortunes [k].

A taylor of Formoſa, whoſe name was Iquon, revolts from the Tartars, and heads the Chineſe.

At the time the Tartars made their laſt conqueſt of China, there dwelt in the Dutch town upon this iſland a taylor, whoſe name in their language was Chinchilung, but by the Dutch and other Europeans he was called Iquon. This man who had an enterpriſing genius, actuated by an unconquerable averſion to the Tartars, got together a few men, two or three ſmall barks, and with this force turned pirate. In a ſhort ſpace of time, his power increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he became extremely formidable to the Tartar emperor; who, finding that his foible was ambition, offered to make him king of the two great provinces of Canton and Fokien; and ſent for him to Focheu, where he promiſed to give him the inveſtiture of his new dignity; but, inſtead of keeping his word, he cauſed him to be ſeized, and conducted to Pekin, where he was ſoon after poiſoned [l]. This taylor, who was ſo near being a king, had a ſon, whoſe name

[i] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 210, 211. [k] Neuville Hiſt. van Holl. 2 deel. lib. xi. cap. 13.
[l] Dapper tweede Gezantſchap naar Sina, fol. 52.

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was Coxinia, or Coxenga, who, on his father's imprisonment, took upon him the command of the fleet. He first demanded succours from the Dutch, which they refused; and this repulse provoked him to such a degree, that he resolved to turn his whole force against Formosa; the rather, because he had good intelligence within the Dutch town, and knew that their affairs were in a very bad condition [m]. He assembled, with this view, a fleet of six hundred sail, most of them frigates of small force, but near one hundred were stout ships of war, of forty guns and upwards. The news of these great preparations reaching the ears of the Dutch governor, who was at that time Mr. Frederick Cojet, he dispatched advice to Batavia, and demanded speedy succours, and sent also to Japan, for the assistance of such Dutch ships as happened to be there. All his precaution, however, was to no purpose; for, before any relief could come, Coxenga sent his fleet, under the command of his uncle Souja, which appeared before the place in the month of March 1661 [n].

His son, after his father's misfortune, resolves to recover Formosa, and attacks it.

The Dutch governor sent a detachment of three hundred and fifty men, to prevent the landing of their troops, who behaved as well as men could do; but to little purpose, since the Chinese landed forty thousand men. They soon cut off the communication between the town and the island, and having made themselves masters of the adjacent country, Coxenga treated all who had joined the Dutch in the same manner as Nicholas Werburgh, who was governor in 1653, had treated such as were concerned in the rebellion; that is to say, he put them to death, with all the marks of shame and cruelty he could invent, and without the least regard to age, sex, or quality. He afterwards attacked all the out-works at the same time, a disposition which prevented the Dutch from succouring each other; so that these places were very soon carried, though with a vast effusion of blood, and the governor was forced to retire into Fort Zealand [o]. The conqueror considering the great strength of the place, and how unfit his army was to undertake sieges, made choice of Mr. Anthony Hancbroeck, the eldest of the Duch clergymen, and sent with him his brethren, two or three schoolmasters, and some of the gravest men among his prisoners, to

[m] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 214, 215.
[n] Basnage Annales des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 670, 671.
[o] Neuville Hist. van. Holl. 2 deel. lib. xi. cap. 13.

perſuade the governor to ſurrender; declaring, that he was content they ſhould retire in ſafety; and that he would not touch the hair of a Dutchman's head, or one farthing's worth of their goods: but if they refuſed this propoſition, he would put them all to the ſword without mercy. The governor told thoſe who brought him this meſſage, that he had all the ſorrow and concern in the world for their misfortune; but, at the ſame time, that there was nothing could induce him to betray his truſt, or to give up the place he commanded, into the hands of the enemy. With this anſwer, they returned to Coxenga; who, as ſoon as he had heard it, cauſed all his priſoners to be put to death, men, women, and children [P].

Succours from Batavia attempt to relieve the place, but are repelled, and obliged to return.

Having taken this barbarous ſtep, he embarked the beſt part of his army on board three hundred junks, with which he blocked up the port, while he fired upon the fortreſs, from two batteries of twelve pieces of cannon each. Things were in this ſituation, when there arrived from Batavia a ſtout ſquadron of nine men of war, commanded by commodore Cawen, who immediately made the beſt diſpoſition he could for the relief of the place. He landed, for this purpoſe, all the troops he had on board; and, being joined by a part of the garriſon, marched to attack ſix thouſand Chineſe, that were covered by a redoubt not yet mounted with cannon. Theſe troops being well armed, and completely diſciplined, received them in order of battle; and, though the Dutch fought with great reſolution, and renewed the attack ſeveral times, they were at length obliged to retire, with the loſs of four hundred men. The commodore then ordered his ſhips to force a paſſage into the port; but the junks, drawing very little water, kept cloſe under the ſhore, where the great ſhips durſt not follow them; and, in this attempt, the Dutch loſt two of their beſt men of war; of which one run aſhore, and had all their crew, to the number of three hundred and eighty, killed by the Chineſe; the other was blown up, by a ſhot fired into her powder-room. Commodore Cawen, perceiving that it was impoſſible for him to do any thing more, detached two of his ſhips to Japan, and, having taken on board two hundred women and children that were in the fort, he ſailed back to Batavia, with the five ſhips remaining of his ſquadron, and made an exact report to

[P] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 367—377.

the

the governor, and the council, of the miserable state of their affairs in Formosa [q].

A resolution was immediately taken, to send an embassy to the emperor of the Tartars in China, to inform him, that they were in danger of losing Formosa, on account of refusing to assist a Chinese in his rebellion: but not depending altogether on the success of this embassy, they ordered five ships of war to be equipped, and to sail forthwith to the relief of the place. The governor Cojet made so obstinate a defence, that old Souja, the uncle of Coxenga, resolved to raise the siege, without the knowlege of his nephew, with at least that part of the army which he commanded. Though he managed this design with the utmost secrecy, it was suspected by Coxenga, who, forgetting the nearness of his relation, caused old Souja to be arrested, and put in irons. After this precaution, though he had the plague and famine in his camp, he pushed on the siege so vigorously, that the governor found himself obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the succours he had expected were in sight. Accordingly, the place being given up to the Chinese, he marched out with the remains of his garrison, and, being taken on board the squadron, returned to Batavia; where, instead of his receiving the thanks of the governor-general and council, he was committed to prison, and kept there a long time, under pretence that he had given up the place too soon, because the Dutch squadron was in sight. This misfortune, however, great as it was, brought about a correspondence with the Chinese emperor, who consented to give them his assistance, to restrain the power of Coxenga, to hinder him from committing depredations in those seas, and disturbing the commerce between China and Japan: points of very high consequence to his subjects, and of no less concern to the Dutch, who saw the face of their affairs extremely altered, by the loss of this important settlement; since, instead of having the Spanish, Portuguese, and Chinese commerce, at their mercy, they were no longer able to send their own annual ships to Japan [r], but with great difficulty and danger. It is necessary now, that we should take some notice of affairs in Europe, in order to shew how far they influenced those in this part of the world, and what led the Dutch com-

The governor of Formosa at length compelled to surrender, though succours were again in sight.

[q] Basnage Annales des Povinces-unies, tom. i. p. 673. Neuville Hist. van Holl. 2 deel. lib. xi. cap. 13.

[r] Dapper tweede Gezant-schap naar Sina, fol. 91.

pany

pany to push their conquests on the coasts of Cormandel and Malabar, by which they completed the ruin of the Portuguese.

SECT. X.

The Nature of that Policy, by which they totally ruined the Power of the Portuguese. The Causes and Nature of their Connections with the Tartars in China. The War of Macassar, which ends in the total Reduction of that potent Monarch, and his Subjects; who endeavour to shake off the Dutch Yoke, but without Effect, though the bravest and best disciplined People in the Indies.

The coast of Malabar reduced.

SOON after the restoration of Charles the Second, a negociation was set on foot, under his mediation, between the crown of Portugal and the States General, the war being, upon the whole, equally grievous to both parties; inasmuch, as besides the loss of Brazil, the subjects of the States found themselves terribly incommoded in their trade, by privateers under Portuguese colours. The treaty however went on but slowly; of which delay it was resolved to take advantage in the East Indies, where the company, as if they had been sovereigns within the bounds of their charter, prosecuted the war with more vigour than ever. In 1663, they attacked Coulan, on the coast of Malabar, and having reduced it, they next invested Cananor, on the same coast, of which, though with some difficulty, they became masters; and though their design was to have demolished the place, and to have established only a factory, yet, when they came to consider the conveniency and importance of its situation, they determined to repair the fortifications, and keep it as a settlement of their own. They next proceeded to Cochin, a city of still greater force, and greater consequence, as being a bishop's see, and a place of great trade. Commodore Goens met here with much more resistance than he expected, and, during a siege of some continuance, lost a considerable number of his people; but being resolved to become master of the city, he prosecuted his operations with such obstinacy, that at last he prevailed, and the Portuguese were constrained to surrender [a]. When possessed of it, how-

[a] Neuville Hist. Van Hollande, 2 deel, lib. xii. cap. iv.

ever,

ever, he scarce knew how to act, because he saw the preservation of it was a thing of great consequence, and yet that it would require a very numerous garrison, and a great expence, to put the fortifications in repair.

By a steady and vigorous pursuit of this conduct the peace comes too late for the Portuguese.

He applied himself, therefore, to the general and council at Batavia, who sent him orders not to spare either men or money, but to push his fortune to the utmost, and at the same time supplied him with a fresh squadron, and a considerable body of troops. This reinforcement so encouraged commodore Goens, that he marched by land to attack the city of Porca, which was the capital of a little rajah, or Indian prince, who had been subject to the Portuguese. But he, not caring to dispute with those who had defeated his masters, offered to become their tributary, and to pay them the same obedience which he had formerly payed to the crown of Portugal; and this, being as readily accepted as offered, put an end to the war on that side. The city of Cranganor, between Calicut and Cochin, fell next into his hands without a blow. Thus in the space of a single year the Dutch expelled the Portuguese out of almost all the places they held on the coast of Malabar, and acquired a territory of one hundred and fifty leagues in length, with all the trade belonging to it, which the Portuguese had enjoyed without interruption from the time of their first settlement in India. They likewise contracted an alliance with the samorin of Calicut, the king of Cochin, and other Indian princes [t].

The company send a solemn embassy to the Mogul.

By the accession of Aureng Zîb to the empire of the Indies the Dutch had an opportunity of complimenting him, which they did by a splendid embassy that made the power and the influence of the company known to the great monarch of Indostan. As they carried magnificent presents, had nothing but general favours to ask, and expressed themselves in terms full of deference and respect, that prince, who had made his way to the throne by measures not the most conformable to laws human or divine, was extremely well pleased with this application, granted their demands, and assured the company of his favour and protection. The king of Siam, who, in the company's sentiments, lay under great obligations to them, having in some respects deceived their expectations, they, without farther ceremony, withdrew their factories out of his dominions. The king, justly alarmed at this step, and well knowing

[t] Report que les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales fait à leurs H. P. Oct. 22, 1664.

that

that it was impossible he should escape the weight of their resentment, who were themselves so powerful, and who had such an influence upon all his neighbours, sent immediately his ambassadors to Batavia, where they were treated very respectfully; and, upon the king's promising them that no cause of offence should be given them for the future, their factories were immediately re-established [u]. It was by these political contrivances, intermixed with seasonable acts of severity upon their own people, when, either through insolence or rapacity, they committed outrages upon the subjects of potent princes, that they raised their reputation to a great height, and prevailed upon many of the Indian princes to send their children to Batavia for education, where they were sometimes entertained at the expence of the company, and all imaginable pains taken to infuse into their minds a high idea of their naval power, and of their capacity to maintain that superiority which they had so manifestly acquired [w].

An embassy and a fleet sent to the assistance of the Chinese against Coxenga and his party.

But these, and other affairs of equal consequence, did not hinder the governor-general and council from paying a proper attention to the loss of Formosa, or the overtures made by the emperor of the Tartars in China for restoring to them that place. There was the greater reason to expect that this monarch would act sincerely, because Coxenga, not satisfied with Formosa and its dependencies, had made himself master of several islands between that country and China, and actually seized some towns upon the continent. On the assurances, therefore, given them by Mr. Borel, their ambassador to the emperor, they fitted out a great fleet of seventeen sail of large ships, under the command of Balthasar Borth, with orders to join the Tartars, and to act with the utmost vigour against Coxenga [x]. On his arrival on the coast of China he found that conqueror in possession of the island of Quemoy, which the Tartars, with all their force, were not able to take from him. The Dutch commodore, observing that the principal fortress in this island stood upon the sea-coast, resolved to try whether it was not possible to take it by assault, supposing that this would strike a terror into the enemy, and raise the credit of the Dutch army with the Tartars; but he quickly found that the soldiers of Coxenga did not at all resemble the Chinese, for they gave him so warm a reception, that he was soon obliged to abandon the design. He next de-

[u] Basnage Annales des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 702, 703. [w] Neuville Hist. Van Holland, 2 deel, lib. xii. cap. 4. [x] Basnage Annales des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 703.

termined

termined to attack their fleet, while the general of the Tartars engaged their forces on shore; a proposal to which the latter assented [y].

This fleet of Coxenga's consisted of fourscore large junks, and twenty-seven small vessels, all full of soldiers and seamen, and very well furnished with brass cannon. The battle was very obstinate and bloody; and Coxenga distinguished himself as a gallant soldier, an experienced seaman, and a great captain. But the Dutch large ships tore his junks to pieces, so that after an engagement which lasted for several hours, he was forced to retire, but he effected his retreat in order, and with a good countenance. The Tartar general, before the battle, began to draw up his forces in a regular line, and all the time it lasted looked on very quietly. After all was over, the Dutch commodore expostulated with him a little warmly. The Tartar general answered, that he could not prevail upon his men to fight; but in case the Dutch would attack the enemy a second time, he believed they would behave better [z]. *The Tartar-Chinese behave ill to their new allies the Dutch;*

The commodore took the hint, and attacked Coxenga a second time, and routed him entirely, but the Tartar general was as calm a spectator as before. This victory, however, was of greater consequence than the former, since it not only cost Coxenga all his new conquests, but his life. The Tartars laid hold of this opportunity to demolish the fortresses they had raised, as fast as they left them, and the Dutch were very active in carrying off whatever was valuable. They afterwards made themselves masters of the island of Amoy, and the recovery of Formosa was looked upon as a thing certain, yet, when they came to attempt it, they were strangely disappointed; for old Souja, who had now recovered his liberty, reassembled the fleet and army of his nephew, and disposed them in such a manner, that there was nothing to be done against them with any great prospect of advantage. The old Chinese, however, being a man of great wisdom and experience, was not willing to risk all, if all might be saved without running any hazard, and therefore had a mind to make peace with the Tartars, and to grant the Dutch a settlement [a]. *who trust them again in another engagement, and are deceived by them.*

The son of Coxenga, however, whom the Chinese call Tching-king-may, having discovered the design, defeated it; and, being elected general, seized the old man, and *A new revolution.*

[y] Dapper tweede Gezantschap naar Sina, fo. 97. [z] Basnage Annales des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 703. [a] Neuville Hist. van Holland. 2 deel, lib. xii. chap. 4.

sent

sent him a second time to prison, where in a fit of melancholy he dispatched himself with his own hands. This young officer inherited all the spirit and all the abilities of his family; and managed his affairs with such courage and conduct, that the admiral soon found himself obliged to return to Batavia, without being able to execute the commission he had received.

A short account of the ruin of this new kingdom, and of the reuniting this island once more to the empire of China.

It was not long after this victory that Tching-king-may departed this life, and left the island of Formosa to his son Tching-ke-san, who was, at the time of his father's demise, a child. Public affairs were indifferently well managed by his guardians till he grew up to man's estate, when proving of a mild and melancholy disposition, and perceiving that the Tartars had not only reduced, but put to death, the king of Fo-kien, his principal ally, he resolved, to prevent all danger of suffering in the like manner, by a voluntary surrender of his dominions, to which, though against his will, he was constrained to add also that of his person, he came to Pe-king, in the quality of an abdicated prince, in the summer of 1683, had a small pension given him, and in other respects was treated with kindness and civility. Thus the island of Formosa, or at least that part of it which belonged to the Dutch, became reunited to the Chinese empire, and has continued so ever since, there being always a body of twelve thousand regular troops maintained therein; but both officers and soldiers are changed once in three years, and sometimes oftener, in order to prevent all possibility of revolting [b].

A new war breaks out with the king of Macassar, which is suspended by a peace.

The first war between the maritime powers after the restoration did not much affect the Dutch affairs in the East Indies, and therefore we need say nothing of it here, but proceed rather to their war against the king of Macassar, one of the most vigorous, and at the same time one of the most important, in which they had been engaged from the time of their first establishment. This kingdom, which comprehends the best part of the island of Celebes, was then inhabited by a brave and numerous people, whose monarchs, as they had never submitted to the Portuguese, had of course a strong aversion to the yoke of the Dutch, with whom they were never upon good terms, on account of the intercourse these islanders preserved with the Moluccas, and the protection they gave the Portuguese who had taken shelter amongst them. Yet there was not a

[b] Du Halde Description de l'Empire du Chine, tom. i. p. 179. 482.

word

word said of either of these causes in the Dutch manifestoes; on the contrary, they complained of the depredations committed by the king of Macassar. His subjects had murdered some of the Dutch that had landed in his dominions, and had likewise plundered several ships that had run ashore upon the coasts; but, before any hostilities were committed, a treaty was set on foot, by which the king promised to make full satisfaction for the injuries done, as also to make such submissions as they should require from him on account of these disorders. The company, however, having some diffidence as to the king's promises, thought proper to send their admiral, Cornelius Speelman, who had been governor of the coast of Coromandel, with a squadron of thirteen men of war, and a certain nnmber of transports, having eight hundred soldiers on board, with orders to see the late treaty executed according to the letter in every article. He arrived at Macassar on the 19th of December, 1666 [c].

But this giving satisfaction to neither party, they at last have recourse to arms.

Next morning came two deputies from the king, and brought with them a thousand and fifty-six ingots of gold, which had been promised in satisfaction for the murder of the Dutch, and also the sum of one thousand four hundred and thirty rixdollars, in satisfaction of the vessels that had been plundered; but at the same time they declared, in the name of the king, that the submissions required were inconsistent with his dignity, and therefore such as he could not comply with. As this refusal was what the company expected, and as they were also informed that the king of Macassar had sent a large fleet to attack the island of Bouton, admiral Speelman immediately declared war. Having made two descents upon the country, he carried off an incredible quantity of plunder, burnt fifty villages to the ground, and about a hundred ships in several ports, the king not suspecting such a visit. After these exploits he sailed to relieve the island of Bouton, which was hard pressed by the fleet and army the king of Macassar had sent against it. Admiral Speelman arrived before that place on New-year's-day, 1667, forced a passage with his small vessels into the haven of Bouton, and then proceeded to the relief of the city, which was besieged by the king of Macassar's general, at the head of ten thousand men. But the Dutch, attacking them in their entrenchments, and finding means to set their magazines on fire, forced them to raise the siege. This

[c] Neuville Hist. Van Holland, 2 deel, lib. xii. cap. 19.

event,

event was followed by such a prodigious desertion of their army, that the generals of the king of Macassar found themselves obliged to enter into a treaty with the Dutch admiral; and being able to obtain no better terms, surrendered at discretion [d]. The first step they took was to disarm their prisoners, of whom they sent five thousand five hundred to people a desert island not far from Bouton; four hundred of them they kept for slaves, and five thousand Bougies, or auxiliaries of different nations, they delivered up to the king of Palacca, who had been their faithful ally during the war. They restored to the king of Bouton three hundred vessels, together with whatever plunder had been taken from his subjects by the enemy, and could be found after their defeat; the rest of the king of Macassar's junks they incorporated with their own fleet of transports; and, with a hundred and ninety-five standards, and all the arms and ammunition of the enemy, with the principal officers of their army, whom they kept prisoners, admiral Speelman returned in triumph to Batavia, where he was received with universal applause, as indeed his conduct well deserved [e].

The king of Macassar thinks once more of shaking off the company's yoke.

But the company, as the Dutch writers affirm, still entertained great jealousies of this monarch, to whom they were so lately reconciled; which seem to have proceeded from the knowlege they had of his genius and maxims of government. It soon appeared that he had negociated only to gain time, since he began to intrigue afresh with all the neighbouring princes; to whom he represented, that nothing could save them from becoming downright subjects to the company, but entering into a close alliance with each other, and employing the whole of their forces against the common enemy. His arguments had weight with most of his neighbours, for they were sensible enough that all he advanced was agreeable to truth, and therefore not only readily entered into an alliance, but exerted themselves to the utmost in raising their respective quotas; so that the king of Macassar, as the head of the league, quickly appeared a more formidable enemy than ever; and so much the more so, as it was evident that nothing could divert him from his purpose, and that he must be absolutely crushed before he could be brought into a state of dependence.

[d] Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roi de Macaçar, p. 240. [e] Basnage Annales des Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 92.

While

While he was making theſe preparations, the Dutch Eaſt India company were not either uninformed or idle; on the contrary, they equipped a ſtout ſquadron, on board which they embarked a conſiderable number of regular forces, at the ſame time that they preſſed their Indian allies to put to ſea as many veſſels as they were able to furniſh and man for ſervice. They provided them accordingly, either out of regard to treaties, through their fear of the company, or to gratify their private reſentments; for their conduct on this occaſion was viſibly againſt their natural intereſt. They armed with all imaginable diligence, and repaired to the place of rendezvous as they were directed; ſo that admiral Speelman, on the 8th of June, ſailed from Amboyna with ſixteen veſſels and fourteen ſhallops, on board of which were the ſuccours furniſhed by the king of Palacca and Ternate. Arriving, on the 19th of July in the morning, on the coaſt, he attempted to force a paſſage into the port of Macaſſar, but was warmly repulſed; for the king having erected a fort for the defence of the place, the Dutch, after twenty-four hours cannonading, were forced to retire. A few days after the admiral was joined by a part of the fleet which had been ſeparated from him by a ſtorm; and on the 2d of Auguſt he made a deſcent with his whole force at a place called Gliſſon. His army at this time conſiſted of ſix hundred Dutch troops, three hundred diſciplined Indians in the company's pay, three thouſand from Ternate and Bouton, ſeven thouſand Bougies, eight hundred ſeamen, and two independent companies under the command of the captains Joncker and Strycker. But the forces of the enemy were incomparably greater, for they amounted at leaſt to twenty thouſand men, under the command of all the little kings and princes that the monarch of Macaſſar had drawn over to his party. Admiral Speelman kept the main body near his fleet, and detached one hundred men to attack the caſtle of Gliſſon in the night. The king of Palacca, who was entruſted with the management of this affair, executed it with ſuch conduct, that by three in the morning he became maſter of the place; of which ſucceſs he gave notice to the Dutch admiral, who immediately ſent him ſuch reinforcements and ſupplies as were requiſite to preſerve this acquiſition [f].

This was a dreadful blow to the enemy; and, as the admiral very juſtly foreſaw, the firſt thing they did was

[f] Neuville Hiſt. van Holland, 2 deel. liv. xii. chap. 19.

But did not submit till again deserted by his allies.

to attempt the recovery of it; in which they were so far from succeeding, that, after three general assaults, in each of which they lost a great number of men, they were forced to desist. Such multitudes of bombs and red-hot bullets were fired from this fortress into the enemy's camp, as threw them into the utmost consternation; which opportunity was not let slip by the Dutch general, who attacked the entrenchments, at the same time that a vigorous sally was made from the castle, and obliged the enemy to quit all their posts. General Speelman soon after embarked his forces, and transported them to another part of the island, where he destroyed a multitude of villages. As this war was attended with great losses and inconveniences on both sides, a negociation was set on foot to try what could be done towards settling a peace. The king of Macassar was very unwilling to let these deliberations be spun out, because he found his Indian allies deserting him by degrees, and making peace for themselves; which example of their's he resolved to follow, by submitting to such terms as he could obtain, which were indeed none of the most reasonable; and so the treaty was concluded on the 18th of November, 1667; in consequence of which the regents of the island, and all the neighbouring princes, as well as the king of Macassar, sent a numerous and solemn embassy to the governor-general John Maatsuyker at Batavia, to make their submission to the company for their past conduct [s].

A bold attempt excited by despair.

Meanwhile, the rainy season coming on, occasioned such a mortality among the Dutch army and navy, as induced the Indians to hope they might gain some advantages. They were therefore tempted to break the peace, by massacring a great number of the dying soldiers, and two of the captains; upon which the war broke out again, and continued with as great violence as ever for two years, in which time the success of admiral Speelman was so great, and the calamities brought upon the natives of Macassar were so many and so heavy, that at last they were forced, in order to obtain a peace, to send a new ambassador to Batavia, and to make all the submissions the company could require. After all, they were left to the mercy of Speelman, who by a new treaty, concluded on the 15th of June, 1669, not only renewed the treaties of the 19th of August, 1660, and the 18th of November,

[s] Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roy de la Macaçar, p. 234, 235.

1667,

1667, but alſo impoſed upon them other conditions ſtill more grievous and intolerable [h]. From this period the company have conſidered all diſputes rather as inſurrections and rebellions than wars with equal and free powers. This treaty fixed the trade of ſpices entirely, and without control, in the hands of the company: formerly, both the Portugueſe and the Engliſh found means to purchaſe them in Celebes, that is to ſay, nutmegs, mace, and cloves, which were carried thither from the Moluccas, and it may be from other countries with which the Europeans have now no correſpondence. As for cinnamon, not content with poſſeſſing all the true ſpice in the iſland of Ceylon, they puſhed their conqueſts on the continent of Malabar, with this view, amongſt others, that they might deſtroy the baſtard, or wild cinnamon, which grew about Cochin, and in which the Portugueſe drove a conſiderable trade when they were no longer maſters of the better ſort [i].

SECT. XI.

The Eaſt India Company's Fourth Charter. Manage their Affairs with equal Diſcretion and Succeſs. Diſappoint the French in their Attempts to fix themſelves in the Iſland of Ceylon, and proſecute their Oppoſition to that Nation with ſignal Advantage.

BUT let us now turn our eyes a little to Europe, where we ſhall find that the Eaſt India company had wore out their third charter, and conſequently found themſelves under the neceſſity of procuring a new term, in which they met with ſome difficulty. The concerns of the republic were then managed by the De Wits and their faction, who were no friends to any monopoly, and had in particular no great veneration for this. The penſionary John De Witt thought that companies might be neceſſary when new branches of commerce were to be opened, and new eſtabliſhments made; he thought the acquiſition of the Moluccas neceſſary, and that of Batavia expedient; but, as to the great power that the company afterwards aſſumed, he judged it not at all beneficial to the Dutch nation. He ſaw, and he made no ſcruple of declaring it,

The Dutch Eaſt India company obtain, though with ſome difficulty, a farther term in their commerce.

[h] See the Treatiſes at the end of the Relation before cited, and which are alſo inſerted in the Corps Diplomatique. [i] Memoires ſur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 148.

that, as to the Dutch employed in the East India settlements, they were for the most part the very scum of the people, debauched, necessitous, without principles, rapacious, and profligate; all which vices he conceived arose from the slavish terms put upon them by the company, to which none would submit who could possibly live at home, or knew how to get abroad at their own expence, whence he apprehended that there was not that solid strength in their establishments which was commonly imagined. He believed that so severe an administration could never be beloved, but must depend chiefly on the military and mercenary force maintained for its support; and at the same time he was convinced, that, to alter these maxims, or to relax any thing of this severity, was not to be expected [l]. For these reasons, therefore, he regretted that this trade was not in some measure laid open; a step which would naturally have drawn a better sort of people to the Indies, who would have gradually raised colonies of another kind, more defensible than, in case of a general war, those settled by the company would in all probability prove. Yet, in spite of all these objections, a new charter was procured, by the help of what procures all things, a large sum of ready money, which the circumstances of the state at that time made very convenient, and in consideration of which the company had a grant of twenty-one years, to be reckoned from the beginning of 1666 [m].

Remark, that the grandeur of the company has procured an additional benefit to the proprietors.

It is, however, worthy of remark, that, within this last period of which we have been speaking, the company, notwithstanding the prodigious expences to which she stood exposed, and the great interruption of her trade during two wars with England, when whole fleets were requisite to escort her outward and her homeward-bound ships, several of which were however taken, notwithstanding the long wars maintained in the Indies against the Chinese taylor and his descendents in Formosa, the Portuguese in Ceylon and Malabar, and the king of Macassar and his allies; and notwithstanding the augmentation of the company's civil list, which was in itself become a prodigious thing, and equal to more than the whole profits of the company's trade during their first term; yet, notwithstanding all these, the directors divided four hundred and fifty per cent. upon their capital, which was about forty per cent. more than they divided in the preceding term

[l] Gronden en Maximen van de Republieck van Holland, 1 deel, chap. xxvi. [m] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.

from

from 1622 to 1644 [n]. We may from hence diſcern how well, in reſpect to their immediate profit, the pains they had taken to root out all competition at the markets to which they traded had anſwered, and how great a gainer the company was become by dint of the power and influence which they had acquired, notwithſtanding the prodigious ſums expended, and which they continued to expend; from all which particulars, we may collect how great the loſſes muſt have been which the Engliſh and Portugueſe ſuſtained, from whom this additional commerce was taken; and how little things were underſtood by their reſpective governments at home, when they were content to overlook ſuch loſſes for the ſake of a precarious peace, or, which was worſe, to accept of a paltry ſatisfaction, and thereby bar their own right to repriſals when the alteration of affairs, or the favour of Providence, ſhould put it in their power to make them. At the ſame time this ſhews the wiſdom of the Dutch company, that never ſtinted money when negociations were upon the carpet, but, by applying dextrouſly, and paying handſomely, procured good clauſes to be inſerted for them, of which their advocates knew how to make the beſt uſe, when, on the breaking out of freſh diſturbances, old clamours were revived againſt them, which might, by a little induſtry, or a lucky turn of fortune, have been converted into well-grounded claims, but for theſe prudent precautions [o].

With what prudence the directors managed the private as well as public affairs of the company.

The great prudence, and admirable addreſs, of thoſe who managed the company's affairs, were as conſpicuous in their domeſtic tranſactions with the States General as in their conduct in the Indies; for, when the perſon intruſted with the command of their homeward-bound fleet went, according to cuſtom, to pay his reſpects to the States, he was inſtructed to make ſuch a repreſentation of their affairs as might ſerve to ſhew how beneficial this commerce was to the public, what difficulties the company had to ſtruggle with, and what a ſingular degree of patriotiſm was evident in the whole adminiſtration of her dominions and commerce.

Theſe repreſentations were very well calculated to ſmooth the way for the renewing of their charter; which

[n] Janiçon Etat preſent de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom 2. p. 16. [o] See the ſeveral treaties of peace concluded, within this period, between the States and other powers.

was brought about the next year, but not without paying a round ſum to the treaſure of the union.

A ſuccinct account of the country of Tonquin, previous to the relation of the company's trade.

About this time things began to take a wrong turn in the kingdom of Tonquin, where hitherto they had carried on a very lucrative commerce for above thirty years. The ſituation of the country, the power of its monarch, and the obſtinate attachment of his ſubjects to their own manner of living, prevented the Portugueſe from ſettling amongſt them, even when their power was at its height in the Eaſt; and what might perhaps farther contribute to give them a diſtaſte to this country, was the averſion teſtified by its inhabitants upon all occaſions to the Chriſtian religion [p].

Riſe, progreſs, and decay of this commerce.

Some of the Dutch factory in Japan being informed that a ſmall ſquadron went annually from thence to Tonquin, and that a conſiderable trade was alſo carried on thither from China, one Mr. Charles Hartſink propoſed to the Dutch chief to ſend a veſſel from Japan to Tonquin, by which means there was a probability of opening a new trade. His ſcheme was accepted; and he himſelf ſent thither on board a veſſel, freighted not only with all the commodities uſually carried thither from Japan, but thoſe of Europe beſides, together with various curioſities that it was ſuppoſed might prove acceptable preſents to the king of Tonquin; for there is no country in the Indies where any favour can be obtained, or the leaſt degree of credit acquired, without the interpoſition of preſents. By the help of them, and his own inſinuating addreſs, Mr. Hartſink was as well received as he could deſire; and diſpoſed of all his commodities at a high price, and in a very ſhort time carried a valuable cargo to Batavia [q]. General Van Diemen, who then preſided over the Dutch affairs, commended him highly for his care and diligence, reſolved to ſettle a factory at Tonquin without delay, of which Mr. Charles Hartſink had the direction; but though this was a very conſiderable preferment in itſelf, yet it was ſcarce any thing in compariſon of what he obtained in that country, where the king, to manifeſt his eſteem for him, took him into his counſels, beſtowed on him the higheſt titles of honour; and at length, as if he had nothing more to give, by a ſolemn inſtrument in writing, adopted him for his ſon [r]. Under his manage-

[p] Geographie Moderne, par Abraham du Bois, p. 654. [q] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 809. [r] Memoires de Dr. Garçin.

ment,

ment, and that of ſome ſucceeding chiefs, all things went on as proſperouſly as the company could deſire; but at length jealouſies and diſcontents aroſe, which, though pacified for a time, broke out afreſh, and, by their conſequences, leſſened the trade to ſuch a degree, that at length the company thought fit to withdraw their factory, though their ſhips ſometimes viſit the coaſts of Tonquin occaſionally, and, like other Europeans, are permitted to trade freely, but without receiving ſuch encouragement as to excite any deſire of reſettling in the ſame manner as formerly [s].

The great application of the government in the Indies to the beautifying Batavia.

The deſire of embelliſhing Batavia, and augmenting the conveniences the company have there, beyond thoſe of any of the European ſettlements in India, was in none more conſpicuous than in John Maatzuyker, who, as he enjoyed that office many years, ſo he left behind him various monuments of his attention to the public ſervice. In his time were erected thoſe vaſt magazines for ſpices, and other rich merchandize, that are at this day one of the great ornaments of that rich and beautiful city. In the conſtruction of them, care was taken to provide a magnificent apartment for the receiver-general, who reſides there with all the officers under his inſpection. He is obliged every morning, at half an hour after ten, to repair to the governor's cloſet, where he makes a report of the paſſages of the preceding day, of the ſhips entered and cleared, and of the ſums received for the company's uſe [t]. Near his apartment there is another for the principal ſurgeon, his aſſiſtants and ſervants, together with all conveniences for preparing medicines of every kind: theſe buildings were finiſhed in the year 1670. About the ſame time alſo the great dock and yards in the iſland of Onrooſt were alſo completed, where every thing neceſſary to building, equipping, and preſerving the company's ſhips, is provided in ſuch abundance, and furniſhed with ſuch readineſs, under the direction of an officer who is ſtyled equipage-maſter, that the company can build, repair, and refit their veſſels, without the leaſt loſs of time, and in the moſt complete manner imaginable [u]. It was likewiſe during his adminiſtration that the hall of the mechanic arts was erected, one of the nobleſt, and at the ſame time one of the moſt uſeful foundations that the wit or induſtry

[s] Memoires ſur le Commerce des Indes, p. 201.
[t] Janiçon Etat preſent de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 337.
[u] Nieuhoff, Leguat, Le Brun, &c.

of man could contrive. In this the painters, engravers, sculptors, armourers, potters, carvers, &c. in the company's service have their separate dwellings and workshops, where they execute the orders they receive with the utmost punctuality, under the inspection of the city architect, who has a grand apartment, and a salary proportioned to his abilities and services [w].

Enterprize of the French on Ceylon, by the suggestion of a director, described.

In the second Dutch war, in the reign of king Charles II. the Dutch were so fortunate as to make themselves masters of the island of St. Helena, a conquest of no great importance to them, considering its vicinity to the Cape of Good Hope; but of infinite detriment to the English, who therefore spared no pains to recover it, and were no less successful; but their disputes with our nation, during that war, were nothing in comparison of the disturbance given them by the French, which struck at the very heart of their empire in the Indies. This was owing to one Mr. Carron, who had been many years in the Dutch East India company's service, a man of quick parts, an enterprising genius, and equally hasty and determined in his resentments. He was either slighted or suspected at Batavia, an affront which made such an impression upon his spirit, as induced him, upon his return to Europe, to make a tender of his services to the French court, where he was well received, on account of his perfect acquaintance with the commerce of the Indies. While Carron's proposals in relation to Japan were under consideration, the war broke out, and gave a new turn to affairs, as it enabled him, and another person much in the same circumstances, to offer a plan for attacking the Dutch in the Indies; which, as in itself very plausibly contrived, was highly relished by a ministry at that time intent upon humbling the republic. We shall have occasion to speak more largely of this expedition in the course of this work, and shall therefore content ourselves at present with shewing how dangerous this design was, by the forces of the East India company, under the conduct of a very able and gallant commander, entirely defeated [x].

Circumstances serving to heighten the design of the French ministry to make an impression in the Indies.

The plan proposed to the French court by Mr. Carron and Mr. Martin, who had been likewise in the Dutch East India company's service, was to make a descent upon the island of Ceylon, and to reduce the fortress of Ponte de

[w] Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 336, 337.

[x] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 210.

Gallo,

Gallo, which they judged would prove an advantageous ſettlement, might be preſerved againſt the whole power of the Eaſt India company till ſupplies arrived from France; and with what other conqueſts they could make, conſigned to the French crown by ſuch a treaty of peace, as, if the republic ſhould ſuſtain herſelf againſt that war, might be preſcribed by a victorious monarch [y]. While this miſchief was meditating, the Dutch Eaſt India fleet arrived ſafe in Holland, after the breaking out of the war in 1672, with a cargo valued at upwards of ſixteen millions of guilders; a circumſtance, which, however happy both for the company and commonwealth [z], could not fail of raiſing the envy of her neighbours, and of ſtimulating the French miniſtry to neglect nothing that promiſed the diminution of a commerce ſo beneficial to a republic, that gave umbrage to a prince too ambitious to endure the proſperity of a free government. The fleet employed in this expedition conſiſted of ſixteen ſail, well manned, and thoroughly provided with every thing neceſſary to put their deſign in execution. The Sieur de la Haye, who was veſted with the ſupreme command, had quitted a very beneficial civil employment, on purpoſe to gratify his natural propenſity to a military life, for which he had ſhewn himſelf fully qualified by a ſeries of actions that might be regarded as ſo many teſtimonies both of his conduct and his courage, though ſome have ſuggeſted that this was ſuperior to his abilities, and that he failed for want of a capacity equal in all reſpects to the conqueſt committed to his care.

Diſappointment of that project, and its cauſes very differently reported by writers of different nations.

This ſquadron arrived in the proper ſeaſon upon the coaſt of Ceylon, where, agreeable to their inſtructions, they made an attempt upon Ponte de Gallo, but without ſucceſs; concerning which, however, there is ſome variety of opinions. The French writers paſs this matter over in general terms; the Dutch ſay the fortreſs was in a good condition, and the governor made a gallant defence; ſo that the French, deſpairing of ſucceſs, thought it wiſeſt to withdraw. Hamilton, in his account of the Eaſt Indies, ſays, Martin flattered himſelf all along that he ſhould have the government of the place; but finding, in his paſſage, that this command was otherwiſe diſpoſed of, he gave things ſuch a turn, as made the taking, or even the attacking, that fortreſs, altogether impracticable [a].

[y] Journal du Voyage des Grandes Indes, Paris, 1698, 12mo.
[z] Neuville Hiſtoire van Holland, liv. xiv. chap. vii.
[a] Hamilton's New Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 343.

The

The Sieur de la Haye proceeded then to Trinquemala bay, where he reduced the fortress, into which he put a good garrison, and landed for their use one hundred and two pieces of cannon. The joy conceived upon this conquest lasted not long; for the Dutch commodore Rylckloff van Goens arriving with a fleet of equal strength upon the coast, the French were glad to retire, even with some loss [b]. However, when they came upon the opposite coast of Coromandel, the Sieur de la Haye formed a project for surprising the town of St. Thomas, a place remarkably well fortified by the Portuguese in the time of their prosperity, and of which they had been dispossessed by the Dutch about twelve years before. The place was very large, in tolerable good condition, with magazines well provided; notwithstanding which, the French officer took his measures so well, as to carry his point with the loss of five men only. Here he left a strong garrison of six hundred men, with every thing necessary; and knowing that he was not in a condition to perform any thing more, resolved to return into Europe [c]. In the mean time commodore Goens had retaken Trinquemala, and made the garrison prisoners of war; and then passing over to the Coromandel coast, made the French feel the weight of their own cannon; so that the Sieur de la Haye, who came into those parts as a conqueror, left them but by permission; and in his return, one of his vessels being shipwrecked in the sight of the port of Lisbon, the famous Mr. Carron, through the malice of his pilot, was, with two captains, and some other officers, drowned; so that this squadron, of which such exalted hopes were conceived, answered in the event but very indifferently [d].

Reflections made by the Dutch on this attempt, its motives, and probable consequences.

When the Dutch had time to reflect upon what had happened, and to consider how dangerous a thing, in respect to the whole system of their commerce in the Indies, a French settlement at Trinquemala would have been, they came to have a true notion of the service done them by commodore Van Goens, whom the company soon after rewarded with the highest preferment they had to bestow. Yet the possession of St. Thomas, though at a considerable distance from them, and by which they were very little incommoded, kept them still in some pain: they knew the French were apt to be disgusted when projects were un-

[b] Basnage Annales des Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 458.
[c] Voyages des Indes Orientales, par Carre, tom. ii. p. 217.
[d] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 147.

lucky,

lucky, and that at this time they had many irons in the fire; but they foresaw, that if this place continued long in their hands, the ministry would become sensible of its importance, and perhaps incline to take such measures for its preservation as might render it difficult, if not impracticable, to wrest it out of their hands [e].

Which induce them to excite the king of Golconda to besiege, and, by their assistance, reduce, St. Thomas.

They thought proper, therefore, in the year 1674, to stir up the jealousy of the king of Golconda against these new comers: having engaged him to besiege the place by land, they sent a considerable fleet to assist in the reduction of it by sea; in which expedition, however, they were not very fortunate; for the French governor having a good garrison, and being well provided with necessaries, made a much better and more vigorous defence than was expected; insomuch, that the Dutch fleet found it requisite to retire to an adjacent port, where they landed a considerable body of men, who joined the king's army. This reinforcement determined them to continue the siege, till at length, by dint as well of famine as force, they brought the garrison to surrender, though upon honourable terms; and thus, as the Dutch imagined, the French thorn was finally extracted, so that they would be no more heard of in India [f]. In this hope, however, they were disappointed; for, from the miserable remains of the garrison, by the prudence and sagacity of the officer who commanded them, a new settlement arose at Pondicherry, which in process of time became a place of very great importance [g].

SECT. XII.

This Conduct of the Company entitles them to great Favour at home: the Nature and Success of their Policy in the Isle of Java: resolve to drive the French out of the Indies; in consequence of which they attack, and render themselves Masters of Pondicherry.

The company, in consideration of many services, obtain certain indulgences at home.

THE share the company took in this war, the great expences they were at upon these and other occasions, the heavy losses they sustained by their ships taken at St. Helena, and elsewhere, by the English, the advanced price of whatever supplies were sent them, and it may be some-

[e] Basnage Annales des Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 554. [f] Janiçon Etat de la Republique des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 312. [g] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 102.

contributions,

contributions, which, in regard to the distressed condition of the commonwealth, they furnished at home, gave them an opportunity of asking and obtaining a very favourable composition in respect to the duties upon their importations, in which they were to have a stated abatement; and in regard to their exportations, for which they were to pay an annual subsidy of sixteen thousand florins, in full satisfaction; which contract freed them as well from frequent disputes, as from many other inconveniences [h].

Methods by which they secure to themselves the commerce of the Indies.

After the peace of Nimeguen, when they were free from any apprehension of seeing hostile squadrons in the Indies, they renewed their negotiations with several of the little princes, in order to secure the monopoly of the trade in their dominions. This in most places they might have commanded, as the Portuguese actually did, on account of their superior force; but they rather made choice of this method than that, for the following reason: they were apprehensive that, in case they had restrained the commerce of other nations, in the ports of these princes, by open force, their behaviour in the Indies might have been questioned in Europe, and the States General obliged to interpose in a case that might have been construed a violation of treaties; whereas by making alliances with these petty princes, in which they stipulated to vend their staple commodities to the company only, they made this denial of trade to other nations to be the act of those princes, for which therefore neither the company nor the States General were answerable by the law of nations [i].

Disposed to render themselves independent and secure in the island of Java.

They were no less assiduous in contriving to free themselves from those dangers to which they were continually exposed in their capital settlement upon the island of Java; and from which, though they had hitherto defended themselves in some measure by force, but much more by their constant vigilance and numerous precautions, yet were they never without apprehensions, and those too not arising from slight suspicions, but from causes that were but too well founded, which, therefore, for the sake of domestic peace and settled security, they held themselves obliged to try every method to remove.

A view of the political motives to, and many obstacles in the way of these projects.

These powers were the king of Materan, or, as he styled himself, the emperor of Java, and the king of Bantam, now an independent prince, though his predecessors were

[h] Groot Plackaat Boek, iv. deel, fo. 1327. [i] Corps Universelle Diplomatique, tom. vi. part. ii. p. 454. tom. vii. part. i. p. 61. ibid. p. 76.

only

only governors of that city and province for the emperor. The Dutch had done their business by playing these monarchs against each other, which game, though they had hitherto managed with much dexterity, and with incredible success, yet they doubted, and with reason, whether this could be done for ever, and therefore they thought it much more expedient for them to bring both under their power, not in the way of an absolute conquest, for that was impossible, but by having the persons of these monarchs in their hands, and thereby as absolute a direction of their affairs as of any of the little princes before mentioned; a scheme strange and difficult, more especially as both princes were jealous and diffident of them to the highest degree, which, nevertheless, in the space of a few years they actually accomplished; and though it be true that they have not ever since been able to keep the emperors of Java in a constant and strict submission; and though it is no less true, that they are at all times under a necessity of treating both monarchs with all the exterior marks of deference and respect imaginable; yet it is very certain, they have no longer those apprehensions from the emperor's power they formerly had; and that, as for the king of Bantam, he is almost as much at their devotion as the company's king of the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope [k].

A succinct description of the court and condition of the emperor of Java, who, after the mode of oriental princes, leads a life of slothful effeminacy.

The emperor of Java is, in point of religion, a Mohammedan; and, according to the practice of most eastern monarchs, constantly served by women, of whom he takes as many as he pleases, as wives or concubines. Some of his priests are obliged to go every year in pilgrimage to Mecca, to make vows for the safety and prosperity of the king and royal family. His subjects are extremely faithful, and to the last degree devoted to his service. The principal persons in his court are obliged, at every audience, to approach him creeping on their knees; only in time of war this slavish custom is dispensed with. Such as commit the slightest fault are poniarded on the spot with a little dagger called a krid; and as this is the only punishment in use, so the slightest, as well as the greatest faults, are among these people capital. The natives of this country are for the most part of a brown complexion, tolerably well shaped, and have long black hair, which however they often cut. Their noses are flat and broad, and their teeth excessively bad, a defect imputed to

[k] Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé de Choisy, p. 181.

their

their betel and faufel, which they chew continually [l]. The faufel is a kind of nut, fomething fmaller than the nutmeg, without taſte, and yielding, when chewed, a red juice. It is this juice that the Indians make uſe of in painting the chintſes which we admire ſo much in Europe. The tree from whence they gather this nut is very ſtrait, and reſembles in its leaves the cocoa-tree. The betel is a plant which produces long rank leaves, in their ſhape reſembling thoſe of a citron; in taſte they are of an agreeable bitter. The fruit grows in the ſhape of a lizard's tail, about two finger's breadth, very long, of an aromatic flavour, and in its ſmell extremely grateful. The Indians carry with them continually the leaves of betel at all viſits; they are preſented in ceremony, and the natives are almoſt perpetually chewing them. As the taſte is very bitter, they for the moſt part qualify them with araca taufel, or the powder of calcined oyſter-ſhells. Thus prepared, they have a very agreeable flavour. After they have chewed the juice out of them, they ſpit forth the dry maſs. There are ſome who mix their betel leaves with lime, amber, and cardamom ſeeds; others with China tobacco [m].

But, in the midſt of his lewd and luxurious life, is a very powerful and formidable monarch.

The emperor of Java, though he leads an inactive life, in a great meaſure ſurrounded by women, and diverted daily by their pantomime entertainments, is nevertheleſs a very powerful monarch; that is to ſay, he holds all the eaſt and ſouth countries of the iſland of Java under his dominion, which is a vaſt extent of territory, and exceedingly well peopled; but a diſpute ariſing in reference to the ſucceſſion, divided the princes into factions, and armed all the people of Java againſt each other. The Dutch took advantage of their diſſenſion, raiſed one brother to the imperial throne, or at leaſt kept him upon it by their aſſiſtance, and drove two other princes into the mountains; it is very probable they might have ended the war, but that was not their intereſt. They perſuaded the reigning monarch, in 1677, to remove from his old ſeat at Meteran to Kattaſura, which was a point of great conſequence to them. There, for his farther ſecurity, they got leave to erect a fort, in which they keep a ſtrong garriſon. They have likewiſe a court of guard in his very palace, placed there out of pure tenderneſs and reſpect for his perſon, and that he may never be at a loſs for his faithful defenders either againſt open enemies, or ſecret trai-

[l] Hiſtoire de l'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeau, vol. ii. p. 36, 37.
[m] Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par Nicolas de Graaf.

tors.

tors. Under this pretence they keep a conſtant watch over his actions, while he poſſeſſes in his own imagination a power as arbitrary and unreſtrained as ever; with the additional advantage of having Europeans at his command, in caſe, that by any of thoſe violent acts of power which are ever frequent enough in ſuch courts, he ſhould provoke any of his princes, whom in their language they ſtyle Pangarangs, to conſpire againſt him [n]. This new regulation was brought to bear about the year 1680; and, as far as any authentic relations that we met with reach, ſtill ſubſiſts; though the company have ſometimes differences with him, and are conſtantly obliged to cajole him by ſplendid embaſſies and coſtly preſents; but, in return, they are in poſſeſſion of the trade of his whole dominions; and all his ſubjects are employed in working to ſupply the luxury of the emperor's court, and the Dutch magazines with a variety of valuable commodities and manufactures, which they in part conſume, and partly export into other countries. Thus the firſt part of their grand ſcheme was completely executed [o] (A).

It

[n] Hiſtoire de l'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, vol. ii. p. 192, 193. Memoires de Dr. Garcin.

[o] Voyages de Nicholas Graaf, aux Indes Orientales, p. 217.

(A) This is one of thoſe great events, the real importance of which is not to be apprehended by a bare peruſal, but requires to be long and attentively conſidered. The emperor, or, as he is called in the language of the country, ſunſuonan of Java, is an hereditary monarch, whoſe dominions are very extenſive, and who exerciſes a deſpotic power through their whole extent. The general and the council of the Indies were but repreſentatives of the Dutch Eaſt India company, adminiſtering their affairs in ſubordination to the directors, and all ſubjects of the States General of the United Provinces. They were ſtrangers, occupying but a ſmall part of one of the greateſt iſlands in the world, charged with a multitude of other affairs, and under a neceſſity of attending to them, as well as to the war in Java: he was at home, had thouſands, and even ſome hundreds of thouſands at his devotion, without any other point of view than that of maintaining his authority. The deſign of the general and council was rendered extremely difficult by its being of a complicated nature, requiring an equal degree of art and of force to maintain as well as to execute it. His, on the other hand, was as ſimple and plain as a thing could be, to ſupport his own intereſt and authority, and to prevent laws being given by thoſe who were the ſervants of ſervants, ſubject to a republic that had not the

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State of the king of Bantam's dominions, and an account of the nations trading thither.

It was not long before an opportunity offered for carrying the other part of their plan into execution likewise, by bringing the king of Bantam as much under their power as the emperor of Java. The city of Bantam was a place of very great consequence before the Europeans found a passage into the Indies; for the Arabs, the Turks, the Moors, the Chinese, and almost all the nations in the East, resorted to that port; and even after the Portuguese became very powerful, they were contented to trade there without making any settlement. The English were the first who had any factory there, after them the Dutch and the Danes carried on a great trade. The king of Bantam's territories were not very large; but their happy situation made them very considerable, as the capital is seated upon and commands the streights of Sunda, the opposite coasts of the island of Sumatra being subject to the king of Bantam; this situation, and its nearness to Batavia, from which it is not distant full sixty miles, will easily convey to the reader's apprehension a true notion of the importance of this place to the Dutch, who were not more jealous of the natural power of that king, if he had known how to manage it, than they were uneasy at the sight of vessels of all countries trafficking in his port [p]. It was no wonder, therefore, that they were extremely attentive to every thing that passed in his country, or eagerly desirous of interposing upon any occasion that promised an alteration in their favour, or could lead to such a change of affairs as might correspond with their interests, and put him as much in their power as they could wish; more especially after some checks they had received from the reigning king of Bantam, who was much in the interest of the English, and had actually sent a solemn embassy to the court of king Charles II. which was considered as one great reason why they looked upon him as a prince by no means fit for their purpose, and to the perplexing of whose affairs they were ready to contribute by countenancing those intrigues, to which these eastern courts, wild and barbarous as they

[p] Nieuhoff, Tavernier, Frier, Abbé Choisy.

tenth part of his people: yet the general and council at Batavia carried their point; and which is still more extraordinary, have maintained it from that time to this. There is nothing in ancient history that can with any shadow of reason be called a parallel to this transaction, considered in its full extent, and all its circumstances duly examined.

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appear, are to the full as much expoſed as thoſe of the politeſt nations [q].

The quarrel between the two kings of Bantam.

The old king of Bantam, whom ſome Dutch writers call Soltân Agan, and others Soltân Nanghi, worn out with age and infirmities, and being willing to ſee his favourite ſon placed upon the throne in his life-time, reſigned the government to Soltân Agni, or, as others ſtyle him, Soltân Haaſi, who had not held it long before he rendered himſelf univerſally odious, ſo that the old king his father, in pity to his people, as well as for the preſervation of himſelf and two ſons, the Pangerangs Parbaya and Sakhi, took up arms, and, with a body of thirty thouſand men, beſieged Soltân Haaſi in the fortreſs of Bantam [r]. The young king, deſerted and abandoned by every body except the inſtruments of his cruelty, and the companions of his debauches, immediately diſpatched ſome of his favourites to Batavia, to deſire the interpoſition of the Dutch in his favour. This application was preciſely what they wanted and deſired, and therefore, without any ſcrupulous enquiries into the merits of the cauſe, they ſent an army of three thouſand regular troops, under the command of the Sieur Martin, to his relief [s]. This officer made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Bantam with his forces, and, in a general engagement, defeated the old king's army, after a long and obſtinate diſpute. The loſs of the battle was not the greateſt misfortune which he ſuffered, for, ſoon after, he was taken priſoner, kept under a ſtrict guard, and very indifferently treated by his ſon. The two young princes having made their eſcape from the field of battle, and retired with their wives and children into the mountains in the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland, the Dutch ſent detachments in purſuit of them, who followed them ſo cloſe, that the eldeſt of them, Parbaya, came and ſurrendered himſelf to the company, who aſſigned him a penſion, and a place to live in near Batavia. And thus the war ended, in the eſtabliſhment of the young king upon the throne [t].

How the young king became attached to the company.

He had not, however, all things conſidered, any great reaſon to rejoice in this victory; for the Dutch, in conſequence of it, made themſelves maſters of the fortreſs of

[q] Captain Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 127.
[r] Voyages de Nicolas Graaf aux Indes Orientales, p. 214. Voyages de Siam des Peres Jeſuits, p. 123.
[s] Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé de Choiſy, p. 161, 162.
[t] Voyages de Nicolas Graaf aux Indes Orientales, p. 215, 216.

Bantam, and of his person; the European factories were plundered, particularly that of the English, in which they found gold, jewels, and rich merchandize, to an immense value; and every thing was disposed of in such a manner as suited best with the views of the king's good allies, who had fixed him upon the throne. In order to manage Solton Haasi the better, he was provided with a Dutch favourite, one Henry van Steenwyk, who, after he was promoted to the dignity of a prince, assumed the title of the Pangerang Wieragouna, and made it his business to keep his master steady to the interests of his countrymen; so that, though every thing was transacted in the king's name, yet nothing was done but by the advice of the Dutch favourite. These troubles began about the year 1680, and the English and Danes were constrained to quit Bantam in 1683; a circumstance which produced loud complaints in Europe, a warm paper war between the English and Dutch East India companies[u]; and, in short, every thing except the restitution of the English to their factory, and the right of trading in the capital and dominions of the king of Bantam, from which, with all other European nations, they have been precluded ever since; so that the whole produce of this country in pepper, which amounts to about ten thousand tons a year, is entirely in the hands of the king's allies, who purchase it at their own price[w].

The people continue to dislike the Dutch

But we must not suppose that the people imitated the prince in the tameness of his submission. They studied continually, and, notwithstanding many disappointments, made repeated efforts to restore the old king, and to drive out the Dutch; attempts which, instead of contributing to shake off the yoke, made the weight of it the more uneasy. The Pangerang Wieragounda persuaded the king, that the safety of his person depended entirely upon the having a considerable body of Dutch troops at Bantam; and as he could not but be sensible of the risk they ran in remaining there without some place of strength for their retreat, a residence was assigned them within a pistol-shot of the fortress; which was at first composed of canes, in the form of a lozenge, surrounded by a strong palisadoe, which continued till the year 1686. About that time a great insurrection happened at Bantam, in which the peo-

[u] Impartial Vindication of the English East India Company, 1688, 8vo. Justification of the Dutch East India Company, printed at the end of it. [w] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 127.

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ple endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of the Dutch poſts; but Soltân Haaſi had early intelligence of their deſign, ſallied out with his guards, and provided for the ſafety of his allies at the expence of his ſubjects. This attempt, though it miſcarried, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the king's mind, that he ſent his father, and one of the oldeſt and moſt conſiderable of their nobility, to Batavia [x], that they might be the more ſafely kept; and expreſſed his deſire that the Dutch would provide better for their own ſafety; and they, without many intreaties, erected a ſquare ſtone fort, called Steelwyk, within piſtol-ſhot of the fortreſs of Bantam, which, having always a ſtrong garriſon, and being well ſupplied with cannon, commands at once both the port and the town, keeps ſtrangers out of the former, and prevents any inſurrection in the latter; to the mutual ſatisfaction of the luxurious infatuated monarch, and the Dutch company [y].

This monarchy is rendered wholly dependent on the adminiſtration at Batavia.

By theſe ſteps, this other great power in the iſland of Java was brought into their tutelage, though not under their ſubjection; for they abridged the king in none of his prerogatives, and left him in the full poſſeſſion of his revenues. They careſſed him continually with embaſſies, loading him with preſents; giving him, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt, the moſt lofty titles; and profeſſing, upon all occaſions, their inviolable friendſhip, and profound reſpect, for his majeſty; to prevent his ever ſuſpecting that he was, at the bottom, no better than their vaſſal [z]. In this ſtate of ſeeming authority, and real dependence, but in the full poſſeſſion of a numerous ſeraglio; a treaſury full of precious ſtones, which he much admired; diverted with coſtly ſpectacles, and ſurrounded with clouds of rich perfume; he waſted his days to an extreme old age, and then died, little conſidered by his allies, and leſs by his ſubjects, who hated him for depriving them of their commerce, though they were never any great gainers by it; but they were better pleaſed to have variety of purchaſers for their pepper, than a ſingle nation, whom, of all others, they leaſt affected. It does not, however, appear, that he ever diſliked that change which had been introduced in his reign, but on the contrary perſiſted in the firm perſuaſion, that he owed the poſſeſſion of his dominions, and the tranquility of his go-

[x] Voyages de Nicolas Graaf, p. 239.
[y] Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé de Choiſy, p. 160, 161.
[z] Impartial Juſtification of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company.

vernment, to the succours furnished him from Batavia; and therefore recommended to his son and successor, the maintaining a close correspondence with the company, as a great secret of state, and the most effectual means of preserving his absolute authority[a].

Some circumstances relating to the son and successor of this Bantamese monarch.

This son of his was alive in 1722, and seems to have inherited his father's qualities, as well as his dominions. Before his accession to the throne he had diverted himself by committing acts of piracy at sea, and lived afterwards in a manner not only unworthy of his rank, but scandalous to him as a rational creature. He had in his seraglio five hundred wives and concubines, and yet was guilty of the blackest incest. Those who were then intrusted with the administration of affairs for the Dutch East India company, took the liberty of directing their ambassadors to admonish him gently as to his course of life, from the great odium it raised. He defended himself by a kind of plausible sophistry, with which vicious men delude themselves, and then hope to delude others; but, in the end, told them plainly, that he was born to give, and not to receive laws; that he lived in such a manner as he liked best; and that if his friends had any objections to the women about him, they should send him some from their own country[b]. The author, upon whose credit we take this, was an eye-witness of what he wrote, and had several conversations with his majesty of Bantam, whom he represents as agreeable in his person, affable in his behaviour, pleasant in his discourse, but withal very artful, and execrably wicked. In his father's time the Dutch durst not stir singly without their fortifications; but in his reign small detachments were not secure; so that, upon the cutting off a lieutenant with twenty men, the regency at Batavia were obliged to reinforce their garrison considerably[c]. This monarch died as he lived, suddenly, and without shewing the least remorse for the many abominable actions of which he had been guilty.

The Dutch project the driving the French entirely out of the Indies for ever.

Upon the breaking out of the next general war in Europe, the Dutch found their affairs in the Indies in so prosperous a condition, and were so well apprised of the employment given to the French fleet, that they were under no apprehensions of meeting with any other disturbance

[a] L' Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 195. [b] Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf, p. 209. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 196, 197. [c] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 127.

than

than that of cruising for their outward and homeward-bound ships, against which they knew the States General would make the best provision in their power; and therefore, the general and council at Batavia applied their thoughts entirely to the making use of so favourable an opportunity, for absolutely expelling the French out of the Indies [d]. This design could not proceed from any great detriment they received from their commerce, which was so inconsiderable, that it neither brought them much profit, nor could raise any degree of envy in the nations already established in the Indies. But the swelling title of the royal East India company of France, the dexterity with which Mr. Francis Martin had established himself at Pondicherry, where he had raised a tolerable fortress, and a small town under its protection; his insinuating manner of treating with the Indian princes, whose countenance and favour he had obtained, in a high degree; and the convenient situation of the place, which, except the English settlement at Madrass, was preferable to any upon the coast of Coromandel, were the circumstances that made them uneasy [e]. They foresaw, that, some time or other, this would turn to account, and that the French would be convinced, that a trade to the Indies was practicable, from seeing this settlement subsist and improve, with very little encouragement, and scarce any supplies from Europe. They determined therefore to nip it in the bud, and to rid themselves of all their fears, by dispossessing their enemies, while in so weak a condition as not to be able to make any great resistance. Their first project of exciting an Indian war, and making others act as the instruments of their resentment, did not take effect, by which much time, and perhaps some money was lost; so that at length they determined to do their business themselves, and to do it effectually.

They employed a very great force in reducing the fortress of Pondicherry.

Mr. Laurence Pitt was at that time their director on the coast of Coromandel, to whom the management of this expedition was committed; and accordingly he appeared before the place in the latter end of August, 1693, with a force sufficient to have reduced any fortress in the Indies. His squadron consisted of nineteen sail, exclusive of transports and small vessels, from which he landed fifteen hundred men, all regular troops, commanded by experienced officers, and two thousand more, composed of seamen

[d] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 231. [e] Capt. Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 356.

formed into companies, and Indian troops in Dutch pay, such as Bougies, Macassars, and Chingueleys, fifteen or sixteen brass cannon for battery, six mortars, and a train of twenty-four field-pieces; besides, they had also one of the princes of the country, with his troops, in their pay, from whom they purchased a right to the place for fifty thousand pagodas [f]. When the forces were once landed, they lost no time, but pushed the siege with such vigour, that, on the 6th of September, the French governor was obliged to beat the chamade, and on the 8th the capitulation was signed, consisting of thirteen articles; by which it was stipulated, that the place should be given up to the Dutch East India company; the garrison to march out, with all marks of honour; the Indian soldiers allowed to retire where they please; and the French to be sent home, either at the close of that year, or the beginning of the next.

Become masters of the place; fortify it, at a vast expence; and are obliged to give it up at the peace.

The Dutch being thus become masters of Pondicherry, not only repaired and fortified this settlement, but in the space of six years that it remained in their hands, augmented the fortifications very considerably, and made it one of the fairest and strongest places upon the coast; supposing that they should have had the same good fortune with respect to that, as had attended the like conduct in regard to their conquests from the Portuguese; but in this hope they were much mistaken. When the peace of Ryswick was signed, September 20th, 1697, there was a general clause for the restitution of all places taken on both sides, from the beginning of the war, either in or out of Europe; and, at the close of that general clause, the fortress of Pondicherry was particularly mentioned; with a provision, that it should not be demolished, but he delivered up in its present condition; and Mr. Martin, who was again made governor, by a particular treaty with the Dutch director, consented to pay sixteen thousand pagodas, in consideration of what had been expended; so that the French were really great gainers by this short interruption of their possession [g].

A curious secular medal struck, upon the company's entering on a new century.

While this war continued, the company thought fit to treat with the States General for a new term, as that of which they were possessed was to determine on the last day of the year 1700; and it is said, that this renewal of their charter, which was completed on the 11th of August,

[f] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 75. Histoire des Indes, tom. iii. p. 234.

[g] Corps Universelle Diplomatique, tom. vii. part. ii. p. 38.

1698,

1698, and by which all their rights and privileges were extended to the cloſe of the year 1740, coſt them ſeveral millions; which, however, were very well beſtowed, conſidering the great length of time which they obtained, and that, in the ſpace of thirty years before, they had divided to their proprietors upwards of ſix hundred and forty per cent. on their original capital. This conſideration gave the government in Holland juſt reaſon to expect, that the ſtate ſhould receive a large fine, upon renewing ſo beneficial a grant; and the rather, becauſe their finances were pretty much exhauſted, by a long, expenſive, and not over proſperous war; during which, the company had made great profits; and it was very remarkable, that, notwithſtanding ſo large a diſburſement in ready money, they were able the very next year to make two conſiderable dividends to their proprietors [h].

SECT. XIII.

The Cauſes and Conſequences of the Company's long War in Java. The grand Conſpiracy of the Natives, for the Extirpation of the Dutch. The Manner in which it was diſcovered, prevented, and puniſhed.

The cauſes of the laſt and longeſt war in Java.

AFTER all the precautions that could be taken, a new war broke out in Java, in the year 1704, occaſioned by the death of the emperor, and the diſputes which aroſe about the ſucceſſion; an affair of too great conſequence to the company for her to remain unconcerned. The part ſhe took was that of the deceaſed emperor's brother; whereas the Javaneſe, or at leaſt a great party amongſt them, eſpouſed that of the late emperor's ſon. This war was more obſtinate, and of longer continuance, than could have been expected; a circumſtance occaſioned by the young emperor's taking into his ſervice many of the Indian ſoldiers, that, in a time of full peace, had been diſbanded by the Dutch, and who, being acquainted with the European diſcipline, proved very formidable enemies; for, in the courſe of the war, it clearly appeared, that, in point of ſagacity and ſtratagem, they were not at all inferior to the beſt of-

[h] Janiçon Etat preſent de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 316, 317. Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.

ſicers in the Dutch army; and, from their great activity in marching, and their perfect knowlege of the country, they gained frequent advantages [i]. But the company, by the help of fortreſſes and magazines, being able to keep their armies longer in the field, and being alſo able to tranſport on board their fleets their troops, when and wherever it was neceſſary, the Javaneſe, in their turn, found themſelves grievouſly diſtreſſed; ſo that at length both ſides being equally tired of what produced nothing but miſchief and bloodſhed to either, things were at laſt compoſed [k]. But in the midſt of theſe troubles, the governor-general John Van Hoorn had the courage to undertake the rebuilding of the town-houſe, in 1706. It had been built about fifty-four years; and, being compoſed of brick and wood, began to decay; but might have been eaſily, and at a ſmall expence repaired, if that had not been conſidered as unworthy the magnificence of Batavia. The new ſtadthouſe ſhews to what a degree this notion was carried, ſince it is reputed the moſt ſuperb ſtructure that has been erected by the Europeans ſince they penetrated to the Indies. In this noble pile of building the council or college of juſtice aſſembles; in it are alſo apartments for many inferior courts, ſo that all the public buſineſs of the colony is tranſacted there, and this too with all imaginable convenience [l].

How this war convinced the Dutch, that that there are gold mines of conſiderable value in Java.

It is reported, that, from the conſequences of this war, the adminiſtration in Batavia were convinced that the natives had ſome ſecret reſources, which, with all their induſtry, they have never yet been able to diſcover; for in places which had been deſtroyed and plundered more than once in the war, and where the inhabitants were reduced to the utmoſt miſery, they were in a ſhort time in as good a condition as ever, and had all their bracelets, and other little ornaments of gold, about them as before [m]. It is indeed certain, that not in Java only, but through all the Indies, the natives are wonderfully ſuſpicious of the Europeans, and conceal with the utmoſt care the places, and the means of procuring either gold-duſt or precious ſtones. This caution may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to ariſe from the fear of being reduced to the moſt abject ſlavery, and forced to work in the mines, which, in thoſe warm coun-

[i] Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Ind. vol. ii. p. 133. [k] L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, vol. ii. p. 97. [l] Janiçon Etat preſent de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 333. [m] Memoires de Dr. Garcin.

tries,

tries, may be well accounted the most dreadful of all punishments [n].

The introduction and progress of the great improvement made by planting coffee in this island.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that about the year 1719 they began to cultivate coffee in Java, not as a curiosity, but as a commodity; and it is worth our notice, how many years passed before this improvement came to be thought practicable. A notion a long time prevailed, that the Arabs were as jealous and circumspect in regard to this plant as the Indians about their gold-dust; and that, to prevent its being cultivated in other countries, they never suffered so much as a bean to pass out of their hands, till so long dried in the oven as to deprive it of the power of vegetation; but in all probability this was no better than a fable; for about the year 1690, some coffee shrubs in pots were transported to Batavia, and being there transplanted, grew very well. In 1697, from the pestilential fumes that succeeded a great earthquake, most of the gardens belonging to that colony suffered severely, and most of their curious plants were killed; a few coffee-shrubs, however, escaped; and, in 1706, they began to plant them again in many places, and particularly in the garden of the governor-general, where in a few years they came to great perfection [o]. At length, therefore, it was resolved to try whether the coffee they produced might not be roasted and drank. Since that time coffee is become a great commodity in Java, as also in the island of Ceylon, with the soil of which it is pretended the plant agrees better than with that of Arabia; for whereas about Mocha the coffee-bushes seldom rise higher than six, or at most ten or twelve feet, in Java and Ceylon they grow commonly to twenty or thirty, and rise even to forty feet high. For this reason they have much greater quantities than in Arabia, where one tree with another seldom yields above five pounds of berries in a year [p]. But in these new plantations, fifteen or twenty pounds are not thought very extraordinary. The doubt is, whether the flavour of the Java and Ceylon coffee comes up to that of Arabia, which at first it was universally acknowleged it did not; but in process of time the former grew more into esteem, and the Dutch now persuade themselves that it is little, if at all, inferior to that of Mocha.

War in Java breaks out afresh; and, though at length ended, proves the cause of a dangerous intrigue.

The war in Java broke out afresh in 1716, and continued between four and five years, by which the company were

[n] Voyage de Gautier Schoutenaux Indes Orientales, p. 395.
[o] Memoires de Dr. Garcin. [p] Origine & Usage du Caffé, p. 9.

put

put to a great deal of trouble; and were taught, by experience, a maxim long ago laid down by great masters in the art of war, that it is by no means prudent to employ regular troops for many years together against a barbarous nation, because, however, the enemy may be worsted, they are at last beat both into courage and discipline. The Dutch were thoroughly sensible that the war was against their interest; but they were unwilling to sacrifice the advantages they had so long enjoyed, or to end the war upon worse terms than they might have had at the beginning [q]. At length, however, things were adjusted, and the peace of the island was restored. But this had not been long enjoyed when a discovery was made of a very deep and dangerous design, the aim of which was no less than the entire subversion of the government at Batavia, by the destruction of all the Dutch inhabitants, and of the Christians of every denomination that lived under their protection. This discovery was made on the last day of the year 1721, but how, or by whom, is a secret with which the world is not yet acquainted, at least with any degree of certainty. Some have ascribed it to the sagacity of the council of the Indies; others are of opinion that some of the accomplices, being diffident of the event, secured themselves by betraying their confederates. Mr. Van Bosch, the Dutch minister at Macassar, intimated that the company stood indebted for her safety to the friendship of a great monarch; which is a point that shall be explained hereafter [r].

A succinct view of the conspiracy.

But however the discovery was made, the principal conspirators were arrested without noise, and their whole design was defeated; in three months they were brought to their trials, and convicted; from the record of which conviction we shall give a succinct account of this undertaking, little inferior, either in its nature, or management, to Cataline's plot for overturning the Roman republic. The original author of this dark design was a Javanese, whose name was Catadia, a native of the royal city of Kattasura, who had spent four years in establishing secret correspondences over a great part of the island, before he disclosed it to the person that he afterwards put at the head of the design, and who had been embarked in it about two years. This chief was one Peter Erberfeldt, burgess of Batavia, whose father had been a member of the provincial college,

[q] Memoires de Dr. Garcin. East Indies, vol. ii. p. 133, 134.

[r] Hamilton's Account of the

and

and a captain of horſe, but his mother a Moor. He was near ſixty years of age; and there appears no other motive for his entering into this cabal, than the ambition of making himſelf ſovereign of Batavia. Maja Praja, ſerjeant of a Javaneſe company in the Dutch ſervice, and who had formerly lived with the major of Batavia, was another conſpirator, who, from the knowlege of the ſtrength and diſpoſition of the company's forces, gave them ſuch lights as they could not otherwiſe have procured. There were, beſides theſe, eight or ten more of different ranks and nations, yet all of them but mean people, embarked in this deſign, and for many months together employed in taking meaſures for carrying it into execution [s].

How this deſign came to excite apprehenſions in the king of Bantam, to whom it was communicated.

It is very ſtrange that in all this time, and where ſo many were intruſted, nothing ſhould be divulged; and it would appear more ſtrange, that, when the conſpirators knew their own force, they were ſo dilatory; if it had not been diſcovered, from their own confeſſions, that they waited to ſee what turn the war of Java would take, in which there is reaſon to ſuſpect that Peter Erberfeldt thought the emperor wanting in ſomewhat that they expected from him; for, applying himſelf afterwards to the king of Bantam, with whoſe character the reader is already acquainted, and giving him an exact account of the poſture that things were in a little before the time fixed for the inſurrection, he intimated, that, as ſoon as he was thoroughly ſettled in his new monarchy, he intended to attack the emperor, not doubting but he ſhould be able to make a great party amongſt his ſubjects. It was this laſt piece of intelligence that alarmed the king of Bantam, who, conſidering the daring ſpirit of the man, and the amazing ſecreſy with which he had managed for ſo long a time ſo dangerous an undertaking, began to apprehend that he might have a worſe neighbour of him than of the company. Being at that time upon ſo bad terms with his own ſubjects, as not to dare to ſtir out of his fortreſs but with Dutch guards, he judged it moſt for his intereſt to make his court to the general and council at Batavia, by imparting to them what he knew of the conſpiracy. By this intimation they were enabled, without making any ſtir, to ſeize thoſe who had been moſt active in this buſineſs, and to take the neceſſary precautions, in caſe of a commotion, to render it abortive; for there was

[s] Sentence contre Pierre Erberfeld & ſes complices, prononcée à Batavia en 1722.

juſt

just reason to fear, that those who had engaged to assist Erberfeldt and his confederates, might have either taken arms to rescue them, or to protect themselves; but they were so much surprised at seeing the plot discovered, that either they were afraid to stir, or thought that by remaining quiet, the regency at Batavia might consult the tranquility of the colony, and dissemble the informations they had received. If they acted upon this motive, they were certainly right, for the general and council, notwithstanding the severity with which they proceeded against the traitors in their hands, very prudently declined any thing that might render these people desperate, and produce a rebellion, the consequences of which might have been very dangerous [t].

Method which was to be pursued in carrying this scheme into execution.

The plan of the conspirators was, to surprise the city, and to put all who were not of their party to death; after which step, they took it for granted that the mixed multitude of different nations inhabiting the low countries would either willingly join them, or have submitted through fear. The great object of their councils, therefore, was, to bring this point of the surprize to bear. This whole transaction was concerted in the house of Erberfeldt, situated without the city, at that corner of the road to Jacatra which turns off to the Portuguese church. The conspirators likewise met often at a country house of his situated on the Sunder, from whence they carried on a correspondence with several Mohammedan princes, and chiefs of the Indian nations, whom they had found means to draw over to their party. The letters upon this subject were written by Catadia, Maja Praja, de Chias, &c. who also read those they received in answer, because Peter Erberfeldt was not able to write or read the languages of which they made use; and it was the same persons who were charged with delivering those letters, or causing them to be delivered, to those to whom they were addressed, and receiving their answers. The better to promote their purpose, some of them dispersed themselves through different quarters of the flat country, in order to sell amongst the inhabitants a kind of diemats, or little stamps, marked with certain characters, which were to secure those who carried them about them from musket-shots, wounds from guns, swords, or other weapons. The conspirators had agreed that the first attack should be made on the houses of the governor-general, the council,

[t] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 104, 105.

and

and other magistrates in the citadel and in the city, so as to massacre all the principal persons of the government.

What posts were assigned to the several chief actors in this conspiracy.

Peter Erberfeldt, Catadia, otherwise called Rading, Javan de Cartasaura, and Maja Praja, were to have had the command in the attack of the citadel; Sana Suta, Anga Tsitra, de Bagall, and Layech de Sumbowen, that of the town. The attack was to be made on New-year's-day, as soon as ever the gates were open. The last rendezvous of the conspirators was fixed for the evening that should have preceded the attack, at a house of the principal conspirator Erberfeldt, to confer together, and to slide away from thence, some into the citadel, and some into the town. To prevent all misunderstanding among themselves, they agreed beforehand on this regulation; that Peter Erberfeldt, as soon as the massacre was over, should assume the title of gusti, or *king*, as well in the city as in the citadel; and that Catadia should have the title of rading, or *prince*, in the low country, without the city, quite in the mountains; as to the rest, they were to have the title of pangerangs, or *princes*, and established mantries, or *chiefs*, and counsellors to the king; they were also to execute, in their several districts, the function of tummagums, or *generals*, in conjunction with Singa Patria, who had been actually established, by the company's authority, chief of Sikias.

Means concerted for supporting the new government when the revolution had taken effect.

The conspirators had farther agreed, that, after the execution of their design, Peter Erberfeldt was to constitute a college or board of twelve young men, each of the age of twenty, or thereabouts, to be chosen from the families of the principal conspirators, which twelve persons were to have been sent to the princes and chiefs of the Mohammedans, in order to settle the duties and customs they were for the future to pay at Batavia, and afterwards to act as ministers. Conformable to this plan the conspirators had taken sufficient precaution for securing means necessary to assist and support them, after the massacre was begun, by a body of seventeen thousand men, drawn from several places in the neighbourhood of Batavia. According to their scheme, this body was to have been divided into several detachments, all of which were to have been ready to march at a time appointed. The signal being given, each of these detachments was to have put itself in motion; and by the high roads, as well as by private ways, to have advanced and taken possession of all the gates, to hinder so much as a single person's escaping. With this view, and for the better execution of their project, the conspirators

conspirators had already secured, by the distribution of the diemats before mentioned, one thousand men. Maja Praja had undertaken to send as many; and two thousand had orders to descend from the mountains of the south, and to join those who were concealed in the neighbourhood, in order to the perpetration of this horrible design.

Ultimate resolutions. Three days before the intended massacre, the whole scheme was entirely settled; and Peter Erberfeldt had disposed all things, and given his orders for its execution. In case they had succeeded in their design, they were to have been supported and sustained by another body of upwards of ten thousand Baleyans, whom they had engaged to pass the mountains on the side of Cadiri, by Maturin, on the south side, and by Campongbaru, in order to have taken post on the mountain of Geru.

The chief conspirators being brought to trial and convicted, were condemned and put to the most cruel and ignominious death. Erberfeldt and Catadia were extended and bound each of them on a cross, where their right hands were cut off, and their arms, legs, and breasts, pinched with red-hot pincers: then their bellies were ripped from bottom to top, and their hearts thrown in their faces; after which their heads were cut off, and fixed upon a post; and their bodies exposed to the fowls of the air. Some of them were crucified, and others broke alive upon the wheel.

That the memory of this singular transaction might be preserved, the house of the principal criminal, Peter Erberfeldt, was demolished, and a column of infamy erected upon the spot, with an inscription in the Dutch, Portuguese, Malayan, Javanese, and Chinese languages, to the following import:

> "In this place heretofore stood the house of that unworthy traitor Peter Erberfeldt, on which spot no other house shall stand henceforth for evermore."

As the pillar fronts the road, and most of the people who pass by understand some or other of these tongues, it may be presumed that this answers the end of the government in the Indies [u].

[u] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 104.

SECT.

SECT. XIV.

The Inſurrection, or Maſſacre of the Chineſe.

THE ſituation of affairs in Europe, which encouraged ſeveral nations to turn their attention more to commerce than in former times, the great efforts made in France to revive the credit of their company, and other motives of a more private nature, induced the Eaſt India directors in Holland to labour the renewing their charter, or obtaining an additional term before the old was expired, which they attempted in 1717, but without ſucceſs. The States General, though they did not think fit to grant them at that juncture this requeſt, publiſhed, however, a placard in ſupport of their privileges, forbidding any of their ſubjects to trade within the bounds aſſigned to that company, or to be concerned in any of the new undertakings for carrying on a trade in thoſe parts; and afterwards, in concurrence with France and Great Britain, engaged in a warm oppoſition to the eſtabliſhment of the imperial company at Oſtend. The diſputes raiſed upon that head, and other political affairs of great importance, ſo occupied their attention, that the company were not able to gain their great point, even to the very year in which their charter was to expire: all that they could procure or purchaſe, was a prolongation of their term for a ſingle year, to commence from the firſt of January, 1741, which at the time occaſioned many ſpeculations [w].

Reaſons why the Eaſt India company were not ſo fortunate as formerly upon their application for a new charter.

While the directors were ſufficiently employed in concerting ways and means for overcoming thoſe difficulties that obſtructed their obtaining a freſh term, they received the news of the greateſt ſhock their affairs had ever met with, from Batavia. We intimated before, that, by the execution of Peter Erberfeldt and his accomplices, the growth of the treaſon only was ſtopped, but that the roots ſtill remained, of which eight years afterwards the Dutch were made ſufficiently ſenſible. The Chineſe ſettled among them had been formerly allowed, in conſideration of a large ſum of money, to celebrate, at a certain ſeaſon of the year, the feaſt of their grand idol called the Jooſtje de Batavia: but, as they were particularly miſchievous at this ſeaſon, and preſuming upon the licence they had bought, this cuſtom had been for many years aboliſhed;

An account of the laſt inſurrection of the Chineſe, which was near reducing Batavia.

[w] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091.

but

but the Chinese, conceiving that money would in this age effect any thing, petitioned for the revival of this festival; and it is said, by offering a large present, obtained it; after which they were never quiet till they brought upon themselves that destruction, which to succeeding times will appear incredible [x].

Other circumstances reported by different authors concerning this revolt.

Some again report, that a Chinese of great quality retiring from his own country, came on board one of their junks, with a Chinese fleet, to Batavia; and, withdrawing from thence into the mountains, spirited up a rebellion, and at the same time entered into an intrigue with the Chinese captain, or chief, to raise an insurrection in the city, and to attack the Dutch within, while he fell upon them without. On the other hand, these wanted not a third party, who, suspecting the truth of the whole story, ascribed all that happened to the avarice of the Dutch governor, supported by such as were indebted to the Chinese, and thought that cutting their throats would be the easiest and most expeditious method of settling accounts. As there was no care taken to discredit these rumours, by publishing a just and authentic relation of what passed in the Indies, we need not wonder that these tales, however improbable, were not wholly disbelieved. The clearest and most circumstantial narrative of this dismal scene, which appeared after the coming in of the India fleet in the month of July, 1741, is to the following effect [y]:

Substance of the relation of this event, which the Dutch thought proper to make public.

"The number of Chinese in the city and suburbs at the time of this conspiracy, according to a very moderate computation, amounted to ninety thousand men; and the end they had in view was, to massacre all the Europeans, by which they thought to become masters of whatever the company possessed in the island of Java. Full of these ambitious notions, numbers of them began to retire into the mountains, where they pillaged, burnt, and murdered, without mercy, and without pretending to assign any reason for their behaviour. The country people, subjects to the company, took many of them prisoners, and sent them to Batavia, to the number, in the whole, of between four and five hundred men, of whom one half appearing to be desperate and beggarly fellows, and unskilled in any employment by which they might get their bread, were banished to Ceylon; and the rest, having been admonished to behave better for the future, were dismissed and

[x] Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. cxi. p. 116. [y] Relation des Troubles arrivées à Batavia dans le mois d'Octobre, 1740.

permitted

permitted to return to their relations. This lenity, however, was very far from having a good effect; on the contrary, the rebels in the mountains grew daily ſtronger, and did more and more miſchief. At length the regency thought fit to ſend the counſellors Imhoff and Van Aerdens, with a body of eight hundred men, into the mountains, to reduce theſe people; who, in the ſpace of a few days came up with, defeated, and diſperſed them. In the mean time five of the Chineſe came of their own accord to the general and council, diſcovered the whole deſign in which their nation was embarked, and towards the execution of which they had already provided cannon made of ſeveral ſorts of hard wood, together with great quantities of ammunition, which they had privately lodged in their houſes, as well within the city as without. They had likewiſe ſunk mines in ſeveral places, which were actually filled with powder. Upon receiving theſe informations, all imaginable precautions were taken; the guards doubled at all the gates of the city; the forts, and other ports without, reinforced; and all the officers ordered to join their reſpective corps immediately, under the ſevereſt penalties: yet the regency could not believe that the danger was ſo great, or the defection ſo univerſal, as it was repreſented to them by the five perſons before mentioned; and therefore, ſatisfied with acting on the defenſive, they began to deliberate on the means of extinguiſhing theſe jealouſies, and of reducing the Chineſe to their ſenſes and their duty; but they were quickly made ſenſible of their miſtake, and that things were gone too far to admit of any ſuch palliative remedies, the Chineſe relying ſo much on their ſuperiority of number, that, inſtead of being ſtruck with theſe diſpoſitions, and endeavouring to make their peace, they threw off the maſk, and recurred to open force.

"On Saturday the 8th of October the Chineſe attacked one of the poſts without the town, called Quale, near the iſland of Onrooſt, where they murdered all that they met with, and ſet fire to the houſes. Upon this outrage, the regency immediately iſſued their orders, that no Chineſe ſhould ſtir out of his houſe, or have any light within it, upon pain of death. About ſeven the ſame evening, while the council was aſſembled, the Chineſe ſet fire to the ſuburb without the gate of Utrecht, ſuppoſing that the gates would have been immediately opened, to afford people a paſſage to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing the fire, when they intended to have attacked the town on one ſide, while thoſe within the city,

laying hold of this opportunity, might riſe and fall upon the Dutch behind. This ſcheme, though well laid, did not ſucceed; the gates were kept faſt ſhut, and the guards doubled. At eight o'clock two counſellors went to each of the gates, in order to give orders. About nine the Chineſe, who were now increaſed to between forty or fifty thouſand men, advanced with trumpets, drums, and braſs baſons, with which they made a moſt terrible noiſe, in order to excite their countrymen to exert themſelves within; which if they had done, it is not eaſy to conceive how the Dutch could have defended the place, ſince their whole force conſiſted but of three thouſand men; but as they were well armed and diſciplined, the Chineſe within were ſo diſpirited, that they kept their houſes, and did nothing. Thoſe without carried two advanced poſts, and ſlaughtered all that were in them; they likewiſe attacked a third, without the gate of Utrecht, which was defended by ſixty men, who made a very gallant reſiſtance; and the Chineſe, in attacking, being expoſed to the artillery of the town, which made a continual fire, they were at length obliged to deſiſt. The Dutch then made a ſally with one hundred and ſixty men, to relieve and ſtrengthen the advanced poſts; and though this was hazarding that handful of people, yet they durſt not employ a greater number, for fear of what might happen within. Such were the operations of that fatal night, which the Chineſe had fixed for a general maſſacre, and in which, by the vigilance and valour of the inhabitants, they were diſappointed.

"About day-break the Chineſe abandoned the ſuburbs; and then, the council aſſembling, an order was publiſhed for putting the Chineſe within the city to the ſword, women and children excepted, as the only means left to ſecure the public ſafety. Upon this order their houſes were broke open, the men killed without diſtinction, and the women and children conveyed to the Chineſe hoſpital. In a ſmall ſpace of time the ſtreets, the rivers, and canals, were covered with dead bodies, and in ſeveral places the blood ran over people's ſhoes, affording in all reſpects the moſt diſmal and horrible ſpectacle imaginable. It was next found requiſite to erect a battery on the other ſide the Rocmalake, to fire upon the Chineſe captain's houſe, in which there were about eight hundred men. When a ſufficient breach was made, they attacked, and carried it by aſſault, when about thirty women came running out, upon promiſe of having their lives ſpared; and, amongſt them, the Chineſe captain, being diſcovered in female apparel, was ſeized,

and

and sent to the citadel. About noon the counsellors Imhoff and Aerdens returned into the city with the detachment under their command. The people then began to breathe a little, and to console themselves with the hopes that the danger was now over. But the Chinese being now driven to a state of despair, barricadoed their houses, and then set fire to them, so that about two o'clock the city was in flames in different places, by which the greatest part of it, and more especially the Chinese quarter, which was the most populous, was reduced to ashes. It is impossible to express the consternation this occasioned, when numbers of women were seen running to the citadel for shelter; while the men also leaped into the streets, where they were shot or cut to pieces by the soldiers; and with this bloody scene, and the putting to death six hundred and thirty-five prisoners that were in the citadel, the horrors of the day ended. During the whole time it lasted, the riches of these people, which were immense, were abandoned as a prey to those who would take them; and some there were, among the sailors, who got nine or ten thousand crowns each, to their share. In the course of this dismal tragedy there fell no fewer than twelve thousand Chinese of all ranks and ages, while the whole loss of the Dutch did not exceed one hundred men.

"The Chinese themselves confessed (at least it was so given out), that they meant to have made their captain governor of the town; and that they intended to have preserved the Dutch governor and director-general to have carried umbrellas over their governor's head, when he went abroad; all the counsellors of the Indies they meant to impale alive, except Mr. Imhoff and Mr. Tedens, whom they regarded as their capital enemies, and of these they were to have made minced-meat and eat them. The old men they would have burnt the next morning, and the old women in the evening; the young women were to have attended the governess, and the rest of the Chinese ladies; and such of the young men as escaped the massacre were to have been made slaves. Amongst the plunder there were five standards taken; on the first was written, in Chinese characters, "October the second, in honour of Joostje;" on the second, "For our ancient liberty;" on the third, "For the deliverance of the oppressed;" on the other two, "God shall be our aid." As soon as things were a little settled in the city (for the Chinese continued to waste with fire and sword whatever they met with in the mountains), the governor-general set a price upon the

heads of the two chiefs; but offered a general pardon to all who should submit and return before the 22d of November; upon which, notwithstanding all that had passed, multitudes came in, and accepted of the terms offered."

The choice of a new governor held the first and most effectual expedient for restoring tranquility.

This intelligence was brought to Holland in the month of July, 1741, and, as may be reasonably supposed, raised a general apprehension of the consequences. Towards the close of the year, baron Gustavus William d'Imhoff, who had been formerly governor of Ceylon, and in that high employment had acquired great reputation, was by the East India company declared governor-general [z]. In the spring of the year 1742, he embarked on board a vessel built by his own direction, and proceeded to Batavia, to which place the former governor was sent back from the Cape of Good Hope, where he arrived in one of the company's ships, that he might abide a trial in the place where he was accused of having in many instances most shamefully abused his authority, and where he remained a prisoner [a] to his death. Great expectations were raised of the administration of baron Imhoff, from his known character for prudence, moderation, and courage; and, though he found things still in great confusion when he arrived, yet, by his wise and firm management, he quickly brought them into order, provided for the rebuilding of the city, the repressing the mutineers in the mountains, and restoring the tranquility and commerce of the island, where he administered the supreme authority, to the time of his demise, November 1, 1750, with universal applause [b].

SECT. XV.

Description of the great Government of Batavia, the City of which is the Capital of the Dutch Indies. The Countries adjacent, together with their Produce. An Account of the Natives that are Subjects to the Company.

Description of the countries in the possession of, or in a settled correspondency with the Dutch East India company.

AS we have now brought down the history of the Dutch East India company to the present times, it is next incumbent upon us to describe the dominions of which she is in possession, to shew the manner in which they are governed,

[z] Mercure Historique & Politique, tom. cxiii. p. 355. [a] These facts are taken chiefly from private information. [b] Annals of Europe for the year 1743, p. 555, and from private information since that time.

verned, the principal commodities she draws from them, and the number of inhabitants that are settled in the places under her obedience. Let us then begin with that great city which is the capital of her dominions, so lately rescued from the hands of her enemies, which has risen like a phœnix, with fresh strength and beauty, out of her ruins.

The situation and outworks of Batavia, the capital of the Dutch Indies.

Batavia, in the island of Java, lies in the latitude of 6 deg. south, and is the capital of the vast dominions belonging to the Dutch East India company. It serves also for the emporium, where all the merchandize and riches that great company possess are laid up (B). It is surrounded by a rampart of one-and-twenty feet thick, covered on the outside with stone, and fortified with twenty-two bastions. This rampart is environed by a ditch about forty-five yards over, and full of water, especially when the tides are high in the spring [c]. The avenues to the town are defended by several forts, well furnished with excellent brass cannon. Among these forts there are six which deserve to be particularly mentioned; namely, those of Ansiol, Anke, Jacatra, Ryswyck, Noordwych, and Vythock. The fort of Ansiol is seated on a river of the same name, eastward from the sea, and at the distance of about twelve hundred yards from the city; it is built entirely of square stone, and has a strong garrison. The fort of Anke is on a river of the same name, to the westward of the coast, and distant from the city about five hundred yards; built like the former, entirely of square stone. The fort of Jacatra lies also on a river of the same name, is exactly like the other two forts, and lies also at the distance of about five hundred paces from the city. The road thither is between two rows of very fine trees regularly planted, with very beautiful country-houses and gardens on each side. The other three forts are built in the same manner, and of the same mate-

[c] Nieuhoff's Voyages, in Churchill's Collection, vol. ii. p. 321.

(B) One great advantage that this city possesses, and without which indeed she could hardly subsist, is that large and commodious bay, in the bosom of which she may be said to lie. There are seventeen or eighteen islands scattered along the mouth of the harbour, some within and some without it, by which the violence of the wind is so checked, and the force of the waves so broken, that it may be considered not only as one of the safest harbours in the Indies, but in the world; and so capacious, that it is thought a thousand sail of ships might be sheltered there.

rials, lying all on the land ſide of the town, and at a very ſmall diſtance from it [d]. By this diſpoſition the two firſt ſerve to ſecure the city on the ſide of the ſea; and the other four defend its entrances on the land ſide, and at the ſame time protect the houſes, plantations, and gardens, of the inhabitants. In virtue of theſe prudent meaſures, it is eaſy to comprehend that no enemy can ever ſurpriſe this city, becauſe, on which ever ſide they ſhould endeavour to attack it, they would be ſure to meet with a ſtrong reſiſtance. They take, beſides, another precaution, which is, the not ſuffering any perſon to go beyond theſe forts without a paſſport [e].

Its large compaſs, gates, bridges, churches, and other public buildings.

The river, which preſerves ſtill its ancient name of Jacatra, paſſes through the midſt of the town, and forms fifteen canals of running water, all faced with free-ſtone, and adorned with trees that are ever green, affording a moſt charming proſpect. Over theſe canals there are fifty-ſix bridges, beſides thoſe which lie without the town. The ſtreets are all of them perfectly ſtrait, and each of them, generally ſpeaking, thirty feet broad. The houſes are built of ſtone, after the manner of thoſe in Holland; and are moſt of them very high, becauſe the place has not, at leaſt of late years, been expoſed to hurricanes. The city is about a league and a half in circumference; it is ſurrounded with a vaſt number of houſes, ſo that there are ten times the number without that there are within it; and therefore ſtrictly ſpeaking, they ought to be regarded as its ſuburbs. This city has five gates, including that of the port; near to which there is a barrier, regularly ſhut at nine o'clock in the evening, and at which there is poſted night and day a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers. There were formerly ſix gates [f]; the laſt, being called Speelman's Gate, becauſe built by governor Speelman, who died January the 11th, 1684, has been walled up ſince [f]. There is a very fine town-houſe, and four churches for the uſe of thoſe of the reformed religion, that is to ſay the Calviniſts. The firſt of theſe was built in the year 1640, and is called Kruiſhkirk, that is, *Croſs-church*. The ſecond was built in 1670; in both theſe they preach in Dutch. The third belongs to the Proteſtant Portugueſe; and the fourth to the Malayans. Beſides theſe churches, there are abundance of other places of worſhip for all ſorts of religions.

[d] Corneille le Brun, cap. lxii. Nieuhoff, De Graaf. [e] Roggewin, Nieuhoff, de Graaf. [f] L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, cap. xxi.

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They have likewise in this city a spin-huys, or a *house of correction*, in which women who behave loosely are confined; an orphan-house, a magazine of sea-stores, several for spices, wharfs, cord-manufactures, and many other public buildings [g].

The garrison consists commonly of between two and three thousand men. Besides the number of forts before spoken of, there is the famous citadel of Batavia, which is a very fine regular fortification, situated at the mouth of the river facing the city, and flanked with four bastions, two of which command the sea, and the other two the town. This citadel hath two great gates, the one called the Company's Gate, built in 1636, with a bridge of square stone, consisting of fourteen arches, each twenty-six yards long, and ten feet broad; the other called the Water Gate, built in 1630 [h]. All the keepers of the magazines have their lodgings in the citadel, along both sides of the curtain. There are, besides, two posterns, one in the east curtain, the other in the west, which are never opened but for the service of the garrison. It is in this citadel that the governor-general of the Indies has his palace, which is built of brick, with a most noble front after the Italian manner. Over-against this palace is that of the director-general, who is the next person to the governor. The counsellors, and other principal officers of the company, have also their apartments there, as have likewise the physician, the surgeon, and the apothecary. There is a little church, which was built in 1664, remarkably neat and light. There are, besides, in the citadel, arsenals and magazines furnished with ammunition for many years; in a word, this citadel is the general factory where all the archives are kept, and where all the affairs of the company are transacted [i]. The city of Batavia is not only inhabited by Dutch, but also by a vast number of Indians of different nations. The former, that is to say, the Dutch, are all of them either free burgesses, or in the service of the company. There are likewise abundance of Portuguese, French, and other Europeans, established here on account of trade. These Portuguese are for the most part descendents of those who resided here formerly, or at Goa, and who, finding their account in living under so mild a government, did not think fit to remove when the sea-coasts of the island of Java were re-

Strength of the garrison and citadel.

[g] Relation de la Ville de Batavia. [h] Nieuhoff, De Graaf, Le Brun. [i] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux. De Graaf.

duced under the dominion of the East India company. They are at present, at least a far greater part of them, of the established, that is to say, of the Protestant, reformed religion. As for the Indian inhabitants, they are Javanese, or natives of the country, Chinese, Malayans, Negroes, Amboynese, Armenians, natives of the isle of Bali, Mardykers, Macassars, Timors, and Bougis [k].

With regard to liberty of conscience, all the inhabitants of this city enjoy it, let them be of what sect they will, only they have not the public exercise of their worship [l]. Priests and monks are not permitted here, more than in the United Provinces, to walk the streets in the habits of their respective orders; yet all are allowed to live there in peace, except the Jesuits, and they are excluded, not on account of their religion, but for fear of their intrigues, and their exciting troubles and disturbances here, as they have done in most places where they were formerly established. With respect to the Chinese, as their religion is an abomination, they are not allowed a pagoda in the city; but they have one at a place about a league off, where they likewise bury their dead. Every Indian nation at Batavia has its head, or chief, who takes care of its interests; but he has not the power of deciding any thing that is considerable, and his function, properly speaking, regards only the affairs of their religion, and any slight controversies that may arise among his countrymen [m]. In order to give a clear idea of the manner in which these people live at Batavia, it will be proper to say somewhat of each of these Indian nations, and of their different manners of employing themselves.

Temper, customs, and manner of such of the Javanese as remain at Batavia.

The Javanese addict themselves chiefly to agriculture, fishing, and ship-building. They commonly wear no other habit than a kind of short petticoat reaching to their knees, all the rest of their bodies naked; they have likewise across their shoulders a sort of sash, or scarf, in which hangs a little short sword; on their heads they wear a little bonnet. Their cabins are remarkably neater than those of other Indian nations, built of split bamboos, with a large spreading roof which hangs over the house, and under which they sit and take the air.

An account of the Chinese who live at Batavia.

The Chinese inhabitants are very numerous. These people seem naturally born for trade, enemies to idleness,

[k] Relation de la Ville de Batavia, Leguat. de tros Vaisseaux, cap. 21. Le Brun, De Graaf. de la Ville de Batavia.

[l] L'Expedition

[m] Relation

and

and who think nothing hard or laborious if doing it is attended with a certainty of gain. They can live upon very little, are bold, enterpriſing, have a great deal of addreſs, and are indefatigably induſtrious. They have a penetration and ſubtilty very extraordinary, inſomuch that they ſeem to make good their own ſaying, that the Dutch have one eye, and they have two [n]; but, with all his, they are deceitful to the laſt degree, take a pride in impoſing upon thoſe who deal with them, and boaſt of that cunning of which they ought to be aſhamed. In huſbandry and navigation they very far ſurpaſs all other Indian nations. Moſt of the ſugar-mills in Batavia belong to them, and the diſtillery of arrack is entirely in their hands [o]. They are the carriers of Aſia, and the Eaſt India company itſelf frequently makes uſe of their veſſels [p]. They keep all the ſhops, and moſt of the inns in the city, and are likewiſe the farmers of the duties, exciſes, and cuſtoms.

An account of the Malayans, Negroes and Amboyneſe.

The Malayans who live at Batavia, employ themſelves chiefly in fiſhing; their veſſels are very neat and ſhewy, and their ſails very ingeniouſly made of ſtraw. They are a moſt wicked and profligate people, and often commit murders for very trifling gains. They profeſs the Mohammedan religion, but are abſolutely void of morals; ſo that, inſtead of having any ſcruple, they make a merit of cheating Chriſtians. The habits they wear are either ſilk or cotton ſtuff; the men bind a piece of cotton cloth about their heads, with their black hair tied up in a knot behind [q]. The Negroes, who live at Batavia, are moſt of them Mohammedans. They come from the coaſt of Bengâl, dreſs in the ſame manner as the Malayans, and live in the ſame quarter; ſome of them work at trades, others are a kind of pedlars. The moſt conſiderable of them trade in ſtone for building, which they bring from the neighbouring iſlands. The Amboyneſe employ themſelves in building of houſes with bamboos, the windows of which are made of ſplit cane, very neatly wrought in different figures. They are a very bold boiſterous people, and ſo turbulent, that they are not ſuffered to live in the city, but have their quarter near the Chineſe burying-ground [r].

[n] Relation de la Ville de Batavia. Leguat Voyage aux Indes. [o] Nieuhoff's Voyages, p. 317. Le Brun, De Graaf, Geographie Moderne, par Abraham du Bois, p. 690. [p] Hiſtoire de l'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, vol. ii. p. 60. [q] Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par Nicolas de Graaf. L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, tom. ii. p. 66. [r] Janiçon Etat preſent de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 352, 353.

They

They have a chief, to whom they pay the greatest submission, and he has a very magnificent house in their quarter, well furnished after their manner. Their arms are for the most part long sabres and large bucklers. The men wear a piece of cotton cloth round their heads, letting the two corners of it hang behind; and adorn this kind of turban with abundance of flowers. The women wear a sort of habit close to their body, wrapping a cotton mantle round their shoulders, which leaves their arms naked. Their houses are built of boards covered with leaves, two or three stories high, and the ground-floors particularly divided into several apartments.

Of the Mardykers or Topasses.

The Mardykers, or Topasses, are idolaters composed of divers nations of Indians, and are of different trades and professions; their merchants carry on a great commerce in all the neighbouring islands. Some of them are gardeners, others breed cattle, and some fowls. The men generally dress after the Dutch fashion, but the women go like other Indians. They dwell both in the city and country. Their houses are much better built than those of the rest of the Indians, being, generally speaking, either of stone or brick, several stories high, and very neat.

Macassars, Armenians, and other oriental nations, in the company's district.

There are also at Batavia some of the Macassars famous for their little poisoned arrows, which they blow through a trunk. This poison is made of the juice of a certain tree, which grows in that part of the island of Celebes called Macassar, and also in the Bougie islands; they dip the points of their arrows in this juice, and then let them dry. The wound they give is absolutely mortal. The Bougies are the inhabitants of three or four islands near that of Macassar; and, since the conquest of this last island, have settled at Batavia. They are very hardy, bold fellows, for which reason the company use them as soldiers. Their arms are bows and arrows, sabres and bucklers [s]. The Armenians, and some other Asiatics who reside in Batavia, go thither purely on the score of trade, and stay no longer than their occasions call them. The natives of the country, who are established in the neighbourhood of Batavia, and for a tract of about forty leagues along the mountains of the country of Bantam, are immediately subject to the governor-general. The company send drossards, or *commissaries*, amongst them, who administer justice, and take care of the public revenues. The principal men amongst these people resort at certain

[s] Nieuhoff's Voyages, p. 316.

times

times to Batavia, in order to give an account how these commissaries behave, with respect to what they call the low country, which is immediately about the city, where those in the government, and rich merchants, have their country houses. It is inexpressibly beautiful; and one may without exaggeration affirm, that art and nature seem to contend which shall adorn it most. The air is temperate and sweet, the soil rich and fruitful, pleasantly diversified with hills and dales, and wonderfully delighting the eye with its perpetual verdure [t]. On the other hand, that excess of moisture, which formerly nourished useless woods, from whence arose infectious exhalations, is now diverted into canals, that serve at once for profit and pleasure. Rich and regular plantations appear on every side, to most of which belong mansion-houses that fall little short of palaces; and every thing is kept in so good order, as to do honour to their possessors [u]. The company's territories are not however confined within these narrow bounds; her authority extends into different parts of the island, and therefore, to form a just notion of it, we must look abroad through its whole extent.

The situation of the several nations in Java, and their subjection or enmity to the Dutch.

The island of Java may be about three hundred leagues in circumference, divided into abundance of kingdoms and principalities, all of them dependent on the emperor, who resides at Kattasura. We must however except out of the number of these tributary princes the kings of Bantam and Japara, who do not acknowlege his authority. The country produces not only all things necessary for the subsistence of man, but large proportions of those valuable effects which form the commerce of the country. It is divided by many rivers, woods and mountains, in all of which nature has very bountifully bestowed her treasures [x]. It is certain, that in some parts of the island there are gold mines. The regency at Batavia, in hopes of profiting by them, wrought for some years the mountains of Parang; but it fell out that the marcasites were not fully ripened, so that the company were at the expence of a million to no purpose. Such as had the direction of this enterprize were very much censured, and the works have been long since discontinued. There are people who are, notwithstanding, thoroughly persuaded that the natives of the country find, in many places, considerable quantities

[t] Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé Choisy, p. 175, 176. [u] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 114, 115. [x] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 126.

of

of gold, which places, however, they carefully conceal from the Europeans. During the war at Java, which lasted from the year 1716 to 1721, the inhabitants of some parts of the country were so often and so miserably plundered, that they were reduced to absolute beggary, yet it was observed, that in the space of one year's peace these very people grew excessively rich, and had not only great quantities of gold in dust, but also in ingots [y]. The mountains are many of them so high, as to be seen at the distance of three or four leagues. They have frequent and very terrible earthquakes in this country, which shake the city and places adjacent to such a degree, that the fall of the houses is expected ever moment.

Frequent earthquakes.

The inhabitants are of opinion that these earthquakes proceed from the mountain Parang, which is full of sulphur, saltpetre, and bitumen, all which, taking fire, cause a prodigious struggle in the bowels of the earth, and of consequence an earthquake; and they assure us, that it is very common, after such an accident, to see a large cloud of smoke hanging over the top of the mountain.

Of the fruits, animals, fish, &c. in this noble island of Java, as improved by the Dutch.

The fruits and plants in this island are all, in their respective kinds, excellent. There are abundance of forests scattered over the island, in which are buffaloes, tygers, rhinoceroses, and wild horses, with an infinite variety of serpents, some of them of an enormous size. Crocodiles or alligators are prodigiously large in Java, and are found chiefly in the mouths of rivers; for, being amphibious animals, they delight most in marshes and savannahs. Fowls they have of all sorts, and exquisitely good, especially peacocks, partridge, pheasants, wood-pigeons; they have also, the Indian bat, which differs little in form from our's, but its wings, when extended, measure a full yard, and the body of it is of the size of a rat [z]. They have fish in great plenty, of different sorts, and very good. They have likewise a multitude of tortoises, the flesh of which is equally nourishing and delicious. As the flat country abounds with all sorts of provision, there are daily great quantities brought to Batavia; and, to prevent any danger of scarcity, the vessels belonging to the company are continually employed in bringing, from the most distant parts of the island, provisions, spices, and other

y L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 114, 115. z Voyages de François Leguat, tom. ii. p. 86. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 117. Nieuhoff's Voyages, p. 321—363.

neces-

neceſſaries, ſuch as indigo, rice, pepper, cardamoms, and coffee. There are alſo laid up in the magazines at Batavia, all the various kinds of rich and valuable commodities, not of Java only, but all the Indies, ready to be tranſported thence, either to other ports of the company's dominions, or in the ſhips that in great fleets return annually to Holland [b].

A general view of the ſtate, fertility, and populouſneſs of the whole iſland.

Upon the whole, if we may depend on the concurring teſtimony of the Dutch writers, and more eſpecially ſuch as have viſited the Indies, and reſided in the city of Batavia, we muſt believe, that the company have fixed the ſeat of their empire not only on the ſpot moſt commodious for their commerce, but in one of the faireſt, moſt fruitful, and beſt peopled countries in the univerſe. This will ſufficiently appear, from what has been already ſaid, as well as from the following facts, which they affirm from their own knowlege: there are in Java upwards of forty great towns, which, for the number of their inhabitants, would, in any other part of the world, merit the title of cities, and more than four thouſand five hundred villages, beſides hamlets and ſtraggling houſes lying very near each other, upon the ſea-coaſt, and in the neighbourhood of great towns; ſo that, upon a fair and moderate calculation, there are within the bounds of the whole iſland, taking in perſons of both ſexes, and of all ranks and ages, more than thirty millions of ſouls; ſo that it is thrice as populous as France, which, though twice as big, is not reputed to have more than twenty millions of inhabitants [c].

By what a ſudden and ſurpriſing growth the Dutch company roſe, from being ſuppliants, to the rank of ſovereigns over the Javaneſe.

But, after all, what moſt aſtoniſhes wiſe men is, that the Dutch company ſhould be able, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time as ſixteen years from her firſt incorporation, to eſtabliſh a ſettlement on the ruins of a royal city, and, in the ſpace of a few years afterwards, defend that ſettlement againſt the united force of this whole iſland. It is very true, that not leſs than forty years were ſpent in bringing the city of Batavia, and all its fortreſſes, to perfection, and yet, during this ſpace, the company undertook, and effected very great deſigns, conquered vaſt countries by their arms, and obliged many rich and potent princes not only to court her favour, but to place their ſafety in ſeeking her protection [d].

[b] Janiçon Etat preſent de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 339, 340, 341. L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, tom. ii. p. 121, 122, 123. [c] Memoires de Garçin. [d] Nieuhoff's Voyages, p. 320.

To

To gain a clear conception of what the Dutch East India company really is, to frame a true notion of its dominion and power, to know what countries are in its possession, what trade it carries on, and how such a mixed and mighty empire is managed, requires much more to be said, and, indeed, a new field to be opened. We must enquire diligently into the scheme of her foreign policy, and collect carefully what has been written concerning her governments, directions, commanderies, establishments, and factories; for without following this plan, we can have only superficial and confused sentiments of that grandeur, which, as it arose from, and is maintained by naval power, ought to be clearly and particularly understood.

We will therefore try what may be done towards attaining a short and true description of the rest of those provinces, which, with Batavia, make up the eight great governments that belong to the company, in each of which they are, in some measure, sovereigns, as having at least the executive power in their hands, without control; for the company give the title of governor only to him who administers justice to their own subjects, in countries where no other European nation has either settlement or trade, but by their permission.

SECT. XVI.

A View of the great Government of Ceylon. Some Attempts of the Dutch Governors, to render themselves independent. The Profits accruing to the Company from their Possession of the Coasts of this valuable Country; and their singular Precaution in excluding all other Nations.

Ceylon, or Ceilan, the first government after Batavia, and has peculiar prerogatives.

THE first and best government after Batavia is that of the island of Ceylon. The governor is usually one of the council of the Indies, and his council appointed to assist him framed in the same manner with that of Batavia. Though the governor of Ceylon is dependent on the council at Batavia, he is at liberty to write immediately to the directors in Holland, without asking the permission of the governor-general, or without giving an account of his conduct in that respect [e]. This singular prerogative has

[e] Basnage Description historique du Government des Provinces-unies, chap. 37. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 124, 125. Memoires de Dr. Garçin.

had

had bad effects, becauſe it has tempted the governors of Ceylon to withdraw their obedience, in order to become abſolute ſovereigns of the iſland. There have been ſeveral examples of this kind; but it will be ſufficient to dwell here on the two laſt, which have made ſo much noiſe in Europe. Theſe Indian commotions were owing to the tyranny of two governors, who immediately ſucceeded each other, the one named Vuiſt, and the other Verſluys.

The hiſtory of Mr. Vuiſt, who, in this government, endeavoured to make a defection.

As ſoon as Mr. Rumpf left his government of Ceylon, Mr. Vuiſt, his ſucceſſor, began to act the barbarian towards all who were not in his good graces. He perſecuted the Europeans as well as the Indians; and having, from the beginning, this project in his head, he purſued it ſteadily, and by methods that were fitteſt for accompliſhing his purpoſe. In the firſt place, he thought it neceſſary to rid himſelf of the richeſt perſons in the iſland, and of ſuch as were of reputation for experience and penetration. In order to ſave appearances, he thought it requiſite to forge a plot, and cauſed informations to be preferred againſt ſuch as he intended to ruin, for a conſpiracy to betray and deliver up the principal fortreſſes in the iſland to ſome foreign power; which ſcheme ſerved him doubly; for, firſt, it ſeemed to manifeſt a great zeal for the company's ſervice, and next, it gave him an opportunity to convict thoſe he hated of high treaſon, which deprived them at once of life and fortune. To manage this more effectually, he thought fit to change his council, and bring into it ſuch as he could depend on. The confiſcation of the eſtates and effects of a number of innocent perſons he condemned and murdered, under colour of his attention to the public welfare, put it in his power to oblige many, and to raiſe a vaſt number of creatures. This modern Cataline was born in the Indies, of Dutch parents, had naturally a ſtrong capacity, which he had improved by an aſſiduous application. His dark brow, and cloudy air, ſufficiently ſhewed the cruelty of his diſpoſition, and that flintineſs of heart which diſtinguiſhed him from other men. He loved and protected the Indians, either from natural inclination, as they were his countrymen, or becauſe he thought them leſs capable of penetrating, and leſs willing to traverſe, his deſigns. In order to gain them entirely to his devotion, he preferred them as often as any vacancies fell in his government, and this in direct oppoſition to the repeated inſtructions of the company, directing him to beſtow the principal poſts in the iſland on Dutchmen,

Dutchmen, or other Europeans. He carried on his designs for a long time with the greatest dexterity, acquiring by gifts, and other artifices, a prodigious number of dependents, who were ready to support him even in the blackest designs [f].

His schemes detected, and himself deposed, sent to Batavia, and punished as he deserved.

This conduct, however, he could not follow without giving umbrage to some of the company's faithful servants, who sent over to Holland such clear and perfect informations of his behaviour, as gave sufficient light into his real intentions, in spite of all the arts he made use of to conceal them. At last, the company sent Mr. Versluys directly to Ceylon to succeed him, with orders to send Vuist prisoner to Batavia, where he was called to an account for his conduct. As soon as he arrived in that place, abundance of informations were preferred against him, for a variety of crimes, of a private as well as public nature; into all which, the council of justice caused the strictest inquisition to be made, and took care to be furnished with every kind of proof. In fine, after abundance of examinations, he freely confessed, that he had caused nineteen innocent persons to be most cruelly put to death; adding, that as he had, to keep up a shew of justice, put them all to the torture, so, by the severity of this proceeding, he had extorted from every one of them a confession of crimes, none of which had ever so much as entered into their heads. Such flagrant offences certainly deserved the severest punishment the laws could inflict! The sentence passed upon him was to this effect: that he should be broken alive upon the wheel, his body immediately quartered, and those quarters burnt on a pile of wood; the ashes to be put in a cask, and thrown into the sea, as unworthy of any other interment: which sentence, without the least mitigation, was put in execution [g].

Mr. Versluys, who succeeded him in the government, embarks also in pernicious designs.

As Mr. Versluys succeeded Vuist in his government, so he imitated him also in his behaviour, instigated, however, by avarice rather than ambition. This man had by no means the cruelty of Vuist, and therefore he shed no blood, but acted as despotically as the other. The great point he aimed at was not the possession of the country, but the possession of all that was valuable in it. As soon as he was settled in his post, he raised the price of rice, which is the bread of that country, to such an extravagant

[f] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 126, 127. [g] Basnage Description historique du Government des Provinces-unies, chap. 37. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 128, 129.

height,

height, that in a very short time the people were not able to purchase it, so that they were by degrees reduced to starving. Their humble representations of the misery which reigned among all ranks of people throughout the whole island, made no manner of impression upon him; but things went on from bad to worse, till an account of his conduct was sent over to Holland [h]. The States General were no sooner informed of the distress of the inhabitants of Ceylon, than they appointed a new governor, one Mr. Doembourg, and gave him particular instructions to repair past errors, and to treat the subjects of the East India company with all the tenderness and indulgence possible, that they might be convinced their grievances proceeded from the wickedness of particular men, and not from any disposition in their sovereigns to oppression.

The States General interpose, and send over a new governor, who seizes Versluys.

On the arrival of Mr. Doembourg things assumed a new and unexpected face: Versluys took it into his head that they would defend him against his masters, and therefore refused to surrender the government, and had even the insolence to fire upon the company's ships, as they lay in the road of Colombo: but Mr. Doembourg landing, his authority was immediately acknowleged by all in the company's service, and by the people. He caused Versluys to be arrested, and sent prisoner to Batavia, where a long criminal prosecution was carried on against him, but with indifferent success; for he had taken care to cover himself so effectually, that it was found impossible to obtain other than circumstantial proofs. At last he thought proper to lay down a very large sum of money to attend the event of the suit; and was set at liberty, that he might be the more able to manage his defence himself [i].

A short account of the condition of this island, as divided between the natives and the Dutch.

The island of Ceylon is justly esteemed one of the fairest and richest in the world, and for that reason is considered with jealous eyes by its possessors, as well as with envy by their neighbours. The principal places therein are Jafnapatam, Trinkenemale, Materolo, Punta de Galo, Columbo, Nijombo, Scitavaca, and Candy [k]. The East India company are possessed of the whole coasts of the island; of the country, ten or twelve leagues within land; and of most of the towns before mentioned. The Portuguese, who were formerly established here, built abundance of forts for their own security, so that it was a very difficult mat-

[h] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 130, 131.
[i] Ibid. p. 131, 132. [k] Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 369.

ter to dislodge them; but when once the Dutch had contracted a secret alliance with the king of Candy, who was sovereign of best part of the island, they suddenly found themselves attacked on all sides by land and by sea, and were by degrees driven totally out of all their possessions. As the Dutch have ever since taken great pains to keep up a good correspondence with that monarch, they have obtained from him almost whatever they demanded [l].

Instances of the good correspondence between the emperor of Ceylon and the Dutch East India company.

The company send every year an embassy to him, with various presents; in return for which he sends the company a cabinet of jewels, of so great value, that the vessel which carries it home is looked upon to be worth half the fleet [m]. The governor-general takes care himself to have it so packed among the rest of the merchandize, that not only none of the ship's company, but even the captain of the vessel that carries it knows not whether it be on board his ship, a circumstance which shews the immense wealth the company draws from her dominions in the Indies, and at the same time the wise and prudent measures she employs to secure the riches she obtains. The two principal places in this island are Punta de Gallo and Columbo. This last place is the residence of the governor and his council; and the other is properly no more than the port of that city [n]. The air of Ceylon, though very hot, is notwithstanding esteemed to be tolerably wholesome. The country abounds with excellent fruits of all kinds. They have likewise great plenty of rivers, of sea-fish of various sorts, fowls wild and tame, as also animals, particularly elephants, much larger than in any other country of the Indies, tygers, bears, civet-cats, apes, &c. Such is the dominion of the company in this important island, abounding with all good things [o] (C).

But

[l] Memoires de Dr. Garçin. [m] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 139. [n] Voyages de Nicholas Graaf, p. 113. [o] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 207. Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 371.

(C) The emperor of Ceylon still remains in all respects a very powerful prince, his territories being of a vast extent, his revenue immense, his court splendid, and his subjects so numerous, that he can bring two hundred thousand fighting men into the field; and though his credit may be in some measure hurt by being so much as he is under the influence of the Dutch; yet his authority is better supported, and his revenue not at all the less for what they possess in this island. On the other hand, they are pretty secure, and have no reason

But that for which the island is most famous, is its cinnamon, esteemed by far the best in all Asia. Cinnamon is properly speaking, the inner bark of a tree which is not unlike that which bears oranges; the flowers differ but little from those of the laurel-tree in their size and figure. There are three sorts of cinnamon, the finest, which is taken from young trees; a coarser sort, taken from the old ones; and wild cinnamon, which grows not only here, but in Mala-

The vast riches of this island, in cinnamon, precious stones, and pearls.

reason to apprehend any sudden danger from so powerful a neighbour, since they have so many excellent fortresses on all sides of the island. That of Jafanapatam lies in the north, where the land is broke into several islands; and as the Dutch fancy that the whole country resembles a ham, so this must pass for the knuckle of it, and thence they give it the name of Hamsheel. To this fortress, one of the best and most regular in the island, all the adjacent country and little islands are subject, and are all of them well inhabited. Columbo stands on the west side of the island, looking towards Cape Commorin, on the side of a bay into which small vessels may enter, but cannot ride with any great safety, because it lies exposed to the north wind. The city was very large and beautiful when in the hands of the Portuguese; at present smaller in compass, but neater and stronger, being still the capital or place where the Dutch governor resides. Ponte de Gallo is seated on the south-west of the island, which is the best port, and in that respect esteemed the most important place of all; and therefore is in some measure exempted from the jurisdiction of the governor. The town stands on an eminence, surrounded with a deep fosse well fortified, and commanding the port, which is capable of receiving the largest vessels (1). Trinquimala is on the east side of the island, and has a safe and spacious port. The Dutch, when they first drove out the Portuguese, put it into the hands of the emperor; but they have now a triangular fort, and a good garrison, for the defence of that part of the country. In these places they have good garrisons, composed of regular troops, magazines well supplied, and no want of artillery. In case of a civil war, they could bring many thousands of their Christian subjects into the field, as brave troops, and better disciplined than those of the emperor; and as to the attempts of other European nations, they are in too good a posture of defence to entertain any apprehensions at present; and, in case of any danger, they might be speedily supplied with necessary reinforcements of all kinds from Batavia (2).

(1) Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 200. Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 342. (2) Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 209.

bar, China, and of late years in Brasil (D) [p]. The company also drive a great trade in the oil which is drawn from this spice, and which is of very great value; and gains also very considerably by the precious stones that are found in this island, which are rubies, saphires, white and blue topazes [q] (E). There is likewise between Manar and Tutocorin, on the coast of Coromandel, a fine pearl-fishery, which brings in a prodigious profit. This is let twice a year to farm to certain Negro merchants. The oysters, in which the pearls are found, lie at the bottom of the sea. This fishery is carried on only in fair weather, and when the sea is extremely calm. The diver has a cord which passes under his arms, and is fastened to the boat; he has a large stone fixed to his feet, that he may descend the quicker; and a sack or bag about his waist, into which he puts his oysters as fast as he finds them. As soon as he is at the bottom of the sea, he takes up as many as lie within his reach, and puts them into his bag as fast as possible.

[p] Histoire de Ceylon, par Ribeyro, p. 10, 11. [q] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. p. 852.

(D) The cinnamon-trees do not grow all over the island of Ceylon, or at least not in any great plenty, or of the best sort. The natives, it is said, distinguish nine or ten different kinds; but, since the Dutch have been masters here, they propagate only the best sort, and prohibit all the rest. The woods that furnish this precious spice lie mostly to the north of Colombo; and it is the importance of this commerce that has preserved to that place the residence of the governor, as well under the Dutch as the Portuguese. According to the common opinion, after these trees are barked they, in the space of a few years recover that injury, and are in a condition to be barked again; but the best writers affirm quite the contrary; and that, when a tree is once barked, it is cut down to the root, from whence in a few years rise one or more stems that are fit to bark again (9).

(E) If we may rely upon the concurrent accounts of several persons of great veracity, who have lived long in, and were perfectly acquainted with, the product of this island, there is no country in the world that surpasses it in point of natural riches. There are mines of several metals; and, in a mountain not far from the capital, there is one of gold, which the emperor will not suffer to be wrought. As for precious stones, they are found sometimes in the earth, but more frequently in the rivers and rivulets, that roll with great rapidity down the sides of the mountains, in the centre of the island (1).

(9) Ribeyro Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, p. 12. Memoires de Dr. Garcin. (1) Ribeyro Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon.

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In order to ascend, he pulls strongly a different cord from that which is tied about his body; upon which signal those left in the boat draw him up as fast as they can, while he endeavours to rid himself of the stone at his feet, that he may rise the faster. When these boats are full of oysters, the negro merchants carry them all over the coasts, and sell them at so much a hundred. This kind of trade is very hazardous for those who purchase the oysters, since sometimes they find pearls of great price, and sometimes none at all, or such as are but of little value [r].

Prudence and policy of the Dutch in their conduct towards the natives.

The company draws also a considerable profit from the manufactures of muslin, chintz, and other cotton cloths; yet the greatest part of the muslins sent into Europe come not from hence, but from the coast of Malabar. The Chingulays, or native inhabitants of the island of Ceylon, are generally speaking very tall, of a very dark complexion, and their ears excessively enlarged by the heavy ornaments which they wear in them. They are men of great courage, live very hard, and therefore make good soldiers; generally speaking of the Mohammedan religion, but there are also amongst them idolaters, who worship cows and calves. They do not pay much respect to the Dutch; but treat them rather with contempt, and scornfully style them their coast-keepers. The Dutch do not trouble themselves much about this reproach; but, like good politicians, take all the care in the world to keep up a perfect correspondence with the king of Candy, that he may never be tempted to quarrel with, and refuse them his assistance, which would effectually destroy the most valuable part of their commerce [s].

The remains of the Portuguese and Chingulays, by them converted, very numerous in Ceylon.

His subjects are particularly remarkable for their great skill in taming elephants, which they use as beasts of burden in time of peace, and in time of war make them very serviceable against their enemies. They are also of great value, considered as commodities; since the Mogul, the kings of Pegu and Siam, and indeed all the Eastern princes in general, are willing to purchase them almost at any rate. It seems there are still remaining in this island, as well as in the countries possessed by the king of Candy, or, as it is frequently spelt, Gandy, as in the territories of the Dutch, numbers of the descendants from the Portuguese; since we find, that so lately as the treaty of Utrecht, a very warm

[r] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 159. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 141. [s] Memoires de Dr. Garcin. Ribeyro, Graaf.

application was made to the States General, by the Portuguese ambassador, that they might have leave either to assemble for the celebration of divine service in private houses, or be allowed to resort to the churches in the frontier villages belonging to that prince; an indulgence which, notwithstanding all the services rendered by the king of Portugal to the maritime powers in the preceding war, was in very rough terms absolutely refused [t].

SECT. XVII.

Nature and Consequences of the Clove Trade, and the Manner in which it has been translated to Amboyna from the Proper Moluccas, and the Motives which induced the Company to take this Method, as the most effectual for preserving this valuable Branch of Trade.

Amboyna the second government under the Dutch East India Company.

THE second government is that of Amboyna, one of the Moluccas. This island was formerly the seat of the governor-general, before the building of Batavia, and was transferred to that city on account of its advantageous situation in the midst of all the company's settlements; whereas Amboyna lies too far to the east. This island, however, is one of the largest of the Moluccas. It is situated in the archipelago of St. Lazarus, between the 3d and 4th deg. of south latitude, 145 degrees of longitude from the Canary Islands, and one hundred and twenty leagues to the eastward of Batavia. The fort here was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, in 1605; but they did not render themselves entirely masters of Amboyna, and the adjacent countries, till the year 1627, when they had cleared themselves of the English also (F). This conquest put the clove trade

[t] Memoires de Lamberti.

(F) The islands that are in the neighbourhood of Amboyna, and are distinguished by particular names, are seven; namely, Oma, Uleaster, Nossaw, Onime, Massalon, Mulana, and Octava, according to some memoirs, which is the reason that we have placed them here in a note. But, in reality, the islands which are under the Dutch governor of Amboyna are ten, taking in the extent of about 5 degrees of longitude, that of Amboyna being fartherest to the south; we shall give the names of these likewise in their order. 1. Ceram, which is the largest in the whole government, indeed larger

trade wholly into their hands; whence the Moluccas are ſtyled the gold mine of the company; and ſo they have proved, if we conſider the profit they draw from them, and how little fear there is of their being ever exhauſted [u]. In order to convince the reader of this, we need only obſerve, that a pound weight of nutmegs, or of cloves, coſts the company not much above a half-penny, and every body knows at what rate they are ſold in Europe.

[u] Argenſola, Nieuhoff, Schouten, Hamilton, Du Bois.

larger than all the reſt, taking Amboyna into the number. 2. Ceram-Lavut, a ſmall iſland four leagues to the eaſt of the former. 3. Bouro, the largeſt next to Ceram, and which lies weſt of all the reſt. 4. Amblau, which is the ſmalleſt, and three leagues from Bouro. 5. Manipa, between Bouro and Cerem. 6. Kelang, two leagues to the north eaſt of Manipa. 7. Bonoa, ſtill farther north. 8. Orna, lying eaſt from Amboyna, at the diſtance of two leagues. 9. Honimoa, a league to the eaſt of Orna. 10. Nouſſa-Laout, a league ſouth-eaſt from the laſt mentioned iſland (2). Theſe three iſlands, Orna, Honimoa, and Nouſſa-Laout, are ſtyled altogether Uliaſſers, which was formerly miſtaken by French writers for the name of a particular iſland. It is in Amboyna, and in theſe three iſlands only, that cloves are now cultivated; whereas formerly they grew in all the iſlands, more eſpecially in Ceram. Theſe are the iſlands the circuit of which the governor of Amboyna makes once in three years, in order to ſee that the company's injunctions are complied with, and that no cloves are ſuffered to grow (3). The iſland of Amboyna is divided into two parts, that is, a leſſer and a greater peninſula. The former is called Hitou, twelve leagues in length, and two and a half broad: in this the Dutch have no leſs than five forts, or rather ſtrong redoubts, mounted with cannon; the other is called Leytimor, five leagues in length, and one and a half broad, which is the ſouthern part of the iſland; on this ſtands the fort of Victoria, which is the reſidence of the governor and his council, compoſed of fifteen gentlemen, or merchants. The inhabitants of Amboyna are computed at ſeventy or eighty thouſand, of which but a ſmall number are Dutch; and this conſideration obliges them to be continually upon their guard, and to keep a competent number of troops in each of their forts, particularly in that of Middleburgh, which ſtands upon the iſthmus that connects theſe peninſulas. There are alſo redoubts and garriſons in all the other iſlands of this government.

(2) Memoires de Dr. Garcin. Vaiſſeaux, vol. ii. p. 17. col. 805.

(3) L'Expedition de trois Dictionaire de Commerce, vol. ii.

The manner in which cloves are gathered, collected, and cured, in Amboyna.

The island of Amboyna is the centre of this rich commerce; and, to keep it more effectually in her hands, the company takes care to have all the clove-trees in the adjacent island grubbed up and destroyed; and sometimes, when the harvest is very large in Amboyna, part of the produce there is burnt likewise. A few days after the fruit is gathered from the tree, they collect the cloves together, and dry them before the fire on hurdles, by which means they lose the beautiful red colour they derive from nature, and change into a deep purple, or rather black, which is perhaps occasioned by their being sprinkled with water. It is pretended that this sprinkling is necessary to hinder the worm from getting into the fruit; but it is thought a better reason may be assigned for it, which is, adding weight to the cloves [w].

The cloves are gathered very carefully with the hand; and if, by chance, any of the twigs are broken, it is no small prejudice to the tree. It has been said by some, that cloves are gathered but once in several years; by others, that they are gathered several times in one year. Both assertions may be true, if spoken of different places, and in different periods of time; at present there is but one great harvest, which is between the middle of October and the middle of December, sometimes sooner, sometimes later, according as the fruit comes to its maturity. Some years the produce is four, five, or six times, as much as in others; but taking it at a medium, for seven years, it may be well fixed at a million of pounds; and it is computed, that, one with another, this is four pounds from every bearing tree.

The strength of the company in Amboyna, and the additional advantages of that establishment.

As to the force the company has in Amboyna, it consists in the garrison in their great fort, which is very numerous, seldom less than six hundred, composed of their best troops, and kept constantly in excellent order. The fort itself, called Victoria, is so strong from art and nature, that it is in a manner impregnable; and so effectually commands the harbour, that it is impossible for a vessel to go in or out without being sunk by the cannon of the fort, if the governor give orders for that purpose. One would imagine, that so rich a commerce as that of cloves might be a sufficient return for the expence the company is at about this island. But such is their care to improve every thing to the utmost advantage, that of late years they

[w] Memoires de Dr. Garcin. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 145, 146, 147.

have

have cauſed coffee to be planted, which is like to turn to great account [x]. Under the government of Mr. Barnard, however, there was a diſcovery made of a commodity ſtill more valuable than coffee or cloves; for, through his vigilance, it was found that in ſome of the mountains conſiderable quantities of gold-duſt were waſhed down by the torrents; and this diſcovery he purſued with ſuch effect, as at laſt to find out the mine; ſo that the wealth of theſe Indian countries is ever increaſing when in the hands of thoſe who know how to make the beſt uſe of every thing [y]. There is a kind of red wood in this iſland, that, beſide the beauty of its colour, is exceedingly firm and durable; and naturally embelliſhed in its grain with abundance of beautiful figures. Of this wood they make tables, cabinets, eſcritoires, and other pieces of furniture, for the principal perſons in the government, and the reſt is ſold all over the Indies at a very extravagant rate; ſo that this article is to be added to thoſe already mentioned, of the riches in Amboyna [z].

SECT. XVIII.

The Government of the Iſlands of Banda, State of the Nutmeg Trade, Precautions taken to ſecure the Monopoly of Spices in the Indies, as well as in Europe; how far this hath hitherto ſucceeded.

Of the government of Banda, and the iſlands dependent on the government.

THE next government is that of the iſles of Banda, which are in number ſix, lying in the latitude of 4 degrees 30 minutes ſouth, and at the diſtance of about four hundred and fifty leagues from Batavia. The firſt of theſe was called by its inhabitants Bandan; but, when the Dutch went thither, they eſtabliſhed their factory at a place they called Lonthor; and though that be long ago deſtroyed, yet the iſland bears its name ſtill, is the largeſt of the iſles of Banda, and produces moſt nutmegs [a]. The iſland of Neira is next in ſize, where the Dutch have two forts, that of Naſſau, which commands the narrow ſtrait between this iſland and Lonthor; and the other Belgica, on the top of a hill in the midſt of the

[x] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 885, 886. [y] L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, tom. ii. p. 152. [z] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 887. [a] Memoires ſur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 190, 191.

iſland

island. The governor commonly resides in this island, and for the most part, in Fort Nassau. Gounong-api, that is to say, *the mountain of fire*, in the Malayan language, lies to the west of Neira, with a very narrow chanel between them. It derives this name from a large burning hill, which throws out from time to time vast quantities of ashes, and has thereby corrupted not only the air of that island, but of all in its neighbourhood, to such a degree, that scarce any will inhabit them that are at full liberty, and have it in their power, to subsist any-where else [b]. Poulo-ay is a small island to the west of the three former; but the soil and climate is better than any of them; and in it the company has a good fort. Poulo-rhon is that island about which they have had so many disputes with the crown of England, under the name of Poleron; and perhaps it may not be amiss to observe, that the word Paulo, in the Malayan language, signifies *an island* [c]. This, of which we are speaking, is very small, barren, and almost destitute of inhabitants: and this description may likewise serve for the remaining island of Rosingein; so that they are no otherwise considerable than by their situation, which has induced the Dutch to erect a blockhouse on each of them, where they keep a serjeant's guard, in order to prevent the few miserable inhabitants there, from having any intercourse with their neighbours or strangers [d].

The nature, culture, and advantages, of the nutmeg plantations in these isles.

This is a true and fair representation of the state of these islands at this day; notwithstanding which they are of infinite consequence to the Dutch, and not inferior in value to Amboyna, into which, through policy, they have crouded all the wealth of the Moluccas. This value arises from the important commerce in nutmegs, which grow there in such prodigious quantities, as to enable the Dutch to supply all the markets in Europe [e]. The tree which produces this excellent fruit, in size much resembles a pear-tree; but its leaves are like those of a peach, except that they are larger. The nutmeg, when ripe, is pretty near the size of a walnut; and is covered with two skins, or shells, the first is very tough, and of the thickness of a man's finger, which falls off of itself as the fruit ripens. When it is candied, it has a very fine taste. The second

[b] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 158, 159. [c] Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 274. 277, 278, 279. [d] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 877, 878. [e] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 191, 192.

is

is of a red colour, and has a very odoriferous ſmell. On the opening of this, the fruit appears with a little flower at the top, which is very beautiful, and in its form reſembles the lily of the valley. They gather the nuts, and dry them; but, in the firſt place, they are thrown into quick lime, for otherwiſe worms would breed in and deſtroy them [f].

Vaſt pains taken by the company's orders to prevent the propagating nutmegs elſewhere.

There are, beſides thoſe above mentioned, ſeveral iſlands in the neighbourhood of Banda, in which nutmegs would grow, if the company did not take care to have them deſtroyed every year; a circumſtance which at firſt ſight may ſeem extraordinary, ſince one would imagine, that their being thoroughly rooted out once might prevent their growing again. But this difficulty is eaſily ſolved, when it is known that the birds carry them annually into all theſe iſlands, whence the Dutch ſtyle them properly enough the gardeners of the ſpice-trees [g]. It is not agreed how this is performed by them. Mr. Tavernier tells us, that the nutmeg being ripe, ſeveral birds come from the iſlands towards the ſouth, and devour it whole, but are forced to throw it up again before it be digeſted. That the nutmeg, then beſmeared with a viſcous matter, falling to the ground, takes root, and produces a tree, which would never thrive if it was otherwiſe planted. Mr. Thevenot again informs us, that the tree is produced after this manner [h]: there are, ſays he, a kind of birds in the iſland, that, having picked off the green huſk, ſwallow the nuts, which, having been ſome time in their ſtomach, they void by the ordinary way; and they fail not to take root in the place where they fall, and in time grow up to a tree [i] (G).

The manner of the Dutch plantations more largely deſcribed.

In a long ſeries of time the ſervants of the company have diſcovered the beſt method of cultivating and improving nutmegs, which we ſhall preſent to the reader's view as conciſely as it is poſſible. They grow now only in the three firſt iſlands; and, being very tender and

[f] Memoires de Dr. Garcin. [g] L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, tom. ii. p. 155. [h] Voyage des Indes Orientales, vol. v. p. 329. [i] Sir Thomas Pope Blount's Natural Hiſtory, p. 43.

(G) There are in the iſlands of Banda, and at Amboyna, ſeveral ſorts of birds, but more eſpecially a kind of turtle-doves or pigeons, that, by ſwallowing cloves and nutmegs, and voiding them again, propagate wild trees over all theſe iſlands, which the company oblige the inhabitants to pull up and deſtroy; and the birds alſo have no quarter given them in the plantations.

delicate

delicate, are planted in parks, fome larger, fome leſs. Theſe are ſo called, not becauſe of their being incloſed by walls or palliſades, but from their being fenced with other trees, taller and ſtouter than the nutmeg, in order to cover and protect the plantation from the winds to which thoſe iſlands are ſubject. In theſe parks a great many ſlaves are conſtantly employed in weeding and keeping the ground clear, and in picking up the fruit that falls of itſelf, which is commonly the moſt perfect and valuable. The great harveſt is in the months of June and Auguſt, which being the rainy ſeaſon in thoſe countries, accompanied alſo with ſtrong guſts of wind, is frequently attended with great diſaſters, ſuch as beating down and bruiſing the fruit green and ripe, before it can be gathered. This, however, is not loſt, but is preſerved in ſugar, and becomes, either wet or dry, an excellent ſweetmeat.

Account of the nutmeg harveſts, and ſome gueſs at the produce and value of this ſpice.

In the month of November there is a kind of latter harveſt, or gleaning, conſiſting only of ſuch fruit as was left to ripen; but in the month of April they viſit the trees again; and, though the nutmegs gathered at this time be very few, yet they are by far the fineſt, as the fruit at that time hangs but thin, and has not been expoſed to any bad weather. One year with another, it is computed that in theſe three iſlands there grow eight hundred thouſand pounds weight of nutmegs; and, if the common opinion be right, about a fourth part of the ſame quantity of mace, in the following proportions: the iſland of Lonthor produces ſix hundred thouſand; the iſland of Neira eighty thouſand; the iſland of Poulo-ay one hundred and twenty thouſand: the ſlaves that are employed in attending the trees, and curing the fruit, are between two and three thouſand[k]. There is a wild nutmeg, as well as wild cinnamon and wild cloves, but of very little value, and eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the genuine ſpice, which is long like a ſmall egg. Wild nutmegs are very ſeldom, if ever, brought into Europe, becauſe they will not keep, the worm breeding in them, either from their natural moiſture, or from their not being treated in a proper manner at their being firſt gathered, in which it is ſaid ſome niceties are obſerved, that the company's ſervants keep very ſecret. It is allowed, that, when ripe, the taſte of this fruit, that is to ſay, of the pulp between the two outer coats, is harſh, rough, hot, and, upon the whole, diſagreeable; and yet nothing more pleaſant, when either pickled or candied.

[k] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 877, 878.

There

There are, among the inhabitants of this island, a sort of burgesses, who have the sole right to keep parks for the cultivation of nutmegs, for which they receive a very moderate gratification, and yet live at their ease. There grows here, as well as at Amboyna, a sort of tree called calliputte, from whence they draw a very rich and salutary oil, which is sold at a very high price [l].

State of the Dutch forts and garrisons in the islands of Banda.

The castles and blockhouses in the islands of Banda are exceedingly well fortified; yet, to prevent any accident that might happen in case an enemy should enter the port under Dutch colours, there is always a squadron of small vessels plying round the coast, which, upon the first appearance of a strange ship, immediately surround and examine whence she comes, whither bound, and of what strength. The garrison is numerous, but in a much worse condition than any other in the company's service; a circumstance which arises from the want of victuals, the islands being in general of a barren, sandy soil, producing very little food of any sort, which is the reason that the soldiers eat cats, dogs, and any other animal that come to hand [m]. The rest of their provisions is tortoise, of which they have a reasonable plenty for about six months in the year. They make their bread of the juice of a tree, which resembles, when first drawn, the grounds of beer, but, when dried, it grows as hard as a stone; yet, when put into water, it swells and ferments, and so becomes fit to eat, that is, in a country where there is nothing else. As for butter, rice, dried fish, and other eatables, they are all sent thither from Batavia, and come much too dear for the soldiers to have any plenty of them. To speak the truth, as the inhabitant are none of the happiest, so they may be said to live full as well as they deserve, since there hardly ever was an honest man upon these islands [n].

Peculiar misfortune of these islands to be always inhabited by the worst of men.

The natives were such a race of cruel, perfidious, and untractable people, that the company was forced to root them out for their own security, and to send a Dutch colony into the islands; but then it is such a colony as hath not much mended the matter, composed entirely of a worthless rascally people, that not being able to live any where else, were content to come, or were otherwise sentenced to be sent to starve here. Their misery, however, is of no long date; for in a very short time they are de-

[l] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 156. [m] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 142. [n] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 157, 158.

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stroyed by the dry gripes, or twisting of the guts, which is the epidemic distemper of the country. It is for this reason, and because wild young fellows are sometimes sent thither by their relations, that the Dutch at Batavia, generally speaking, call Lonthor, or Bandan, the Island of Correction [o]. The only people who live tolerably there are the negroes, who were settled in it before the Dutch conquest, and have lived quietly ever since in their mountains. Some of the latest accounts from this part of the world inform us, that the company have begun to make trials in Amboyna, whether nutmegs might not be cultivated there to a degree of perfection, with a design, it is believed, of transferring that spice thither entirely, as they have done the clove, as the eruptions of the volcano before mentioned become more and more frequent, and consequently the climate of the isles of Banda grows worse and worse [p].

SECT. XIX.

Account of the two great Governments; of Macassar in the Island of Celebes, and of the Molucca Islands, out of which the Cloves are extirpated, though in most geographical Descriptions these are still called the Spice Islands.

City and fortress of Macassar, the fourth government in the company's dominions.

THE city and fortress of Macassar, in the island of Celebes, is considered as the fourth government in the East India company's dispofal. That island lies between Borneo and the Moluccas, at the distance of about one hundred and sixty leagues from Batavia. Its form is in a manner circular, and its diameter about one hundred and thirty leagues. It is called, and with great reason, the key of the spice islands. The form of government here is pretty much the same as in the other islands. Since the time the Dutch drove out the Portuguese, they have taken care to fortify themselves effectually on the sea-coast, and have always a very numerous garrison in the fort of Macassar, where the governor resides; which is so much the more necessary, as this island is very populous, and the people are beyond comparison the bravest and best soldiers in the East Indies. This nation, as we have already shewn, for a long time, gave the Dutch in-

[o] Memoire sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 191. [p] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 88.

expressible

expreſſible trouble, and rendered their commerce very precarious. Yet at laſt they were totally ſubdued; and, in conſequence of the meaſures taken ſince the laſt treaty, ſtand at preſent as much in fear of the company, as any other nation in that part of the world. The expence, however, of maintaining the troops, and the other charges of the government are ſo large, that, till very lately, the company were no great gainers by their conqueſts, though the ſlave-trade here is very beneficial [q]. The reaſon that induced the company to lay out ſuch large ſums to poſſeſs themſelves of this iſland, was, in order to render it a bulwark to the Moluccas; for, before the laſt war of Macaſſar, which ended in the complete ruin of the power of the prince of that country, he found means to procure great quantities of mace, nutmegs, and cloves, which he ſold to the Engliſh and other nations.

Importance of this part of the iſland of Celebes.

The iſland is very fruitful, eſpecially in rice, which is a commodity of great value in the Indies. The inhabitants are of a middle ſtature, of a yellow complexion, but good features, and are extremely briſk and active. They are ſaid to be naturally thieves, traitors, and murderers; and that to ſuch a degree, that it is not ſafe for any Chriſtian to venture, after it is dark, without the wall of the Dutch forts, or to travel at any time far into the country, for fear of being robbed and murdered. Yet there live under the protection of the Dutch forts abundance of the natives, who are free burgeſſes, and carry on a conſiderable trade, as do alſo the Chineſe, who ſail from hence in their own veſſels into all the ports of the company's dominions, deriving immenſe wealth from their extenſive commerce, which they manage with a dexterity peculiar to themſelves. The inland country is under the dominion of three different monarchs, who, very happily for the company, are continually at variance; and if it were not for this, they might at any time drive the Dutch out of the iſland [r].

A conſiderable gold mine diſcovered here by the Dutch.

One of theſe princes is alſo ſtyled the company's king, becauſe he lives in a good correſpondence with them, and promotes their intereſt as far as lies in his power. They make him from time preſents of gold chains, coronets of gold ſet with precious ſtones, and other things of value, in order to keep him ſteady to his alliance, and prevent his inclining to an accommodation with the other two monarchs, which might be attended with conſequences very

[q] Memoires ſur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 195. [r] L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, tom. ii. p. 162, 163.

fatal

fatal to their power and commerce [s]. About the year 1720 there happened an extraordinary event, which it was thought would have given a great turn to the company's affairs, and this was, the discovery of a rich gold mine, conceived then to be of such great consequence, that not only a great number of workmen, but a director, was also sent from Batavia to carry on the work. How far this has been attended with success we are not able to say, and perhaps it is a secret that never will be known in its full extent, since it is a maxim with the Dutch East India company never to boast of her power or riches, but rather to lessen both in the representations she makes from time to time to the States General.

Of the fifth of the company's governments, viz. that of the Moluccas.

The fifth of the company's great governments is that of the Moluccas, or, as it is generally called, from the governor's residence in that island, the government of Ternate. This very island, which makes now but a part of a single government, bestowed by the directors of a trading company, was once mistress of many nations; and its monarch boasted of having seventy-two, or, as others affirm, ninety-two, tributary princes, who were at the same time, sovereigns of as many islands [t]. There is still a king, who has the honour to be styled the chief ally, which is only a civil expression for the first subject of the Dutch East India company. It is true that the force of this island was in some measure exhausted before the Dutch arrived in these parts; first, by the revolt of several of those tributary princes, and afterwards by the long and bloody wars they maintained against the Portuguese, who sometimes held them in subjection. Neither did they tamely submit to the Dutch company, but defended themselves as well and as long as they could, till, by a conjunction of arts and arms, or, in plainer English, by force in some measure, and in some measure by fraud, they were compelled to submit, and by the treaty of 1638, engaged to have no commerce with any other nation, nor even with any Dutch ships that did not come with a passport from the governor and council of Batavia [u].

The strange alteration that has happened in respect to these once rich and celebrated islands.

But it is not only the power of the king, and the condition of his subjects, but the very state of the country, that is altered, and that in the highest degree. We have seen in the foregoing sections, that the Moluccas, strictly

[s] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 873. [t] Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 20. [u] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. p. 876.

taken

taken, that is, the five islands of Ternate, Tydore, Bachian, Motir, and Makian, which are precisely the places within the extent of this government, were the great objects of the Portuguese ambition, when they began to erect their empire in the East. We have seen what a high dispute was raised about them between the crowns of Spain and Portugal; we have seen what prodigious efforts the united forces of those two crowns made to preserve them from the Dutch; and we have also seen with what pains, with what expence, with what danger, and with what difficulty, the Dutch carried their point at last, so as to become absolute masters of them [w]. Let us now enquire to what end? These five little islands were esteemed the most valuable possession in the world, because in them, and in them only, grew cloves; but after the Dutch had possessed them about twenty-six years, they conceived it for their interest that cloves should grow no longer there. Accordingly, by a treaty made in 1638, with the king of Ternate, and the other petty princes, they stipulated that all that kind of spice should be extirpated in every one of the islands, and not a clove-tree permitted ever to raise its head in one of them again. This treaty has been renewed twice since, and, in consideration of annual pensions granted to the king and to the nobility of Ternate, and to the rest of the princes, which, after being twice augmented, do not amount, in the whole, to three thousand pounds sterling [x]. This article is very punctually performed; for the company's farther security in this particular, they maintain three strong forts, viz. Orange, Holland, and Williamstadt, with good garrisons, in the island Ternate, and eight or nine more in the rest of the islands, where they vend a kind of cloth from the coast of Guinea, which brings them back most part, if not all their money; and, with other merchandize of small value, purchase rice and tortoise-shell, the only commodities that are now to be met with in the Moluccas.

[w] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas. [x] Memoires de Dr. Garcin. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 22.

SECT. XX.

The Government of the Cape of Good Hope. Detail of the vast Improvements made there; and a brief View of the present Condition of the Hottentots, their Subjects. The Method of the Company's Fleets touching here, and other curious Particulars.

Of the Cape of Good Hope, the sixth government in the East India company's dominions.

THE sixth government bestowed by the company in the Indies is that of the Cape of Good Hope. The governor is always one of the counsellors of the Indies, and has likewise a council to assist him in the administration of affairs, as the rest of the governors have. The Cape is situated on the coast of Caffres, and is the most southern point of the continent of Africa: in the year 1653 it was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch. It is justly esteemed one of the most important places in the hands of the company, though it is certain that the profits they draw from it are not comparable to those arising from some of the islands in the East Indies; and formerly things were in a worse situation, the revenues from that settlement falling short of its expence [y]. Yet it would be impossible to carry on their trade to the East Indies, if they were not possessed of this place; because at the Cape, and only at the Cape, they can meet with fresh water and other refreshments, in their outward and homeward-bound voyages, which are absolutely requisite, especially for such as are eaten up with the scurvy, who seldom fail to be recovered by the helps they meet with here.

The vast abundance of provisions at the Cape.

There is such an abundance of all sorts of provisions at the Cape, that, notwithstanding the vast annual demand both by homeward and outward-bound ships of all nations, never any scarcity arises, but all ships meet with the succours they expect at a moderate rate. In order to have a just notion of the great importance of this place, it will be proper to observe, that in the space of a year, at least forty outward-bound ships touch there from Holland alone, and in these there cannot be less than eight or nine thousand people [z]. The homeward-bound ships from the Indies cannot be fewer, in the space of a year, than thirty-six, and on board these there are usually three thou-

[y] P. Kolben, Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 17. 21, 22.

[z] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. coll. 672.

sand

ſand ſouls; not to ſpeak of foreign veſſels that likewiſe put in here, and have alſo all kinds of refreſhments. This circumſtance muſt appear very ſurpriſing when one conſiders what vaſt quantities ſuch numerous fleets muſt require: but this is not all; theſe ſhips do not enter the port and ſail again directly, but continue there for ſome time, inſomuch, that there are always ſhips in the road, except in the months of May, June, and July, when it is dangerous on account of the north-weſt wind, that blows with the utmoſt violence during theſe three months [a].

Abandoned by the Portugueſe and Engliſh, and long neglected by the Dutch.

This country had not only been rejected both by the Portugueſe and the Engliſh, as not worth the pains of keeping, but was actually fifty years in the hands of the Dutch before they judged it capable of any improvements [b]. That they changed their ſentiments in this reſpect, and of a wild and waſte deſert, rendered it the faireſt, fineſt, and fruitfulleſt ſpot upon the globe, was entirely owing to the judicious foreſight of a private man, and to the ready acceptance his project met with from the company's directors. The name of this extraordinary perſon was Mr. Van Riebeeck, a ſurgeon on board one of their ſhips; who, being ſome time on ſhore, conceived in his mind the plan of almoſt all that has been ſince executed [c].

The whole ſettlement made, and all its conſequences, due to the ſagacity of Mr. Van Riebeeck.

In his paſſage home he digeſted his thoughts in writing, and having laid his ſcheme before the directors, they not only approved it, but fitted out immediately a ſquadron of four ſail of large ſhips, laden with every thing requiſite for putting it in execution, giving the ſole command of it to M. Van Riebeeck, with inſtructions drawn from his own papers. This man laid the baſis of his new eſtabliſhment in equity; he purchaſed the country he reſolved to ſettle from the natives, and gave them for it ſuch goods as they choſe, to the amount of fifty thouſand florins: he did not oblige them to remove, nor did he put the leaſt conſtraint upon their freedom. When they were diſpoſed to work, he paid them; when they were ſick, he relieved them. As they had not the uſe of letters, there could be no written agreement between them; he took no advantage of this circumſtance: he performed his promiſes punctually, by which the Hottentots came to have a confidence in the Dutch [d]. It quickly appeared that his notions were per-

[a] L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, tom. ii. p. 169, 170, 171. [b] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 672. [c] P. Kolben, Deſcription du Cap de Bon Eſperance, tom. i. p. 23. [d] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 673.

fectly well founded, and that the country was every way capable of improvement; but as all things necessary for that purpose were to be brought from Europe, these improvements could not be made but at a vast expence, from which however there could not be expected any immediate return. The company comprehended presently the importance of the design, and chearfully furnished at the rate of a million per annum for twenty years; that is, in plain English, they spent two millions sterling to make this country and colony what they are[e]. In this particular, beyond all doubt, they acted a wise and great part, worthy not only of praise and imitation, but of that prodigious success with which Providence has been pleased to bless their prudence and perseverance.

Bay at the Cape exceedingly spacious, admirably secured, and wonderfully advantageous.

The bay is very fine and large, of an oval form, and entering two or three leagues within land; about nine miles in circuit, and is capable of holding one hundred sail of large ships very commodiously; yet it must be allowed, that the anchorage is not every where alike good, and near the shore there is some danger. The middle of this bay is commanded by a very strong fort, which is a regular pentagon, each bastion mounted with twenty pieces of heavy cannon. The fort and the town are both situated on the edge of a plain, three leagues in extent, at the bottom of three very high mountains; the first is styled the Lion Mountain, because it has a resemblance of a lion couching upon his belly; the next is the Table Mountain, which is much higher, so that in a clear day it may be seen twenty leagues; the third is called the Devil's Mountain, and is not so remarkable as either of the former. The houses of which this town is composed are very neat, yet not above two stories high, because of the furious south-east winds that sometimes blow here. The people who dwell at the Cape, and on the coast, are for the most part Christians, and are styled Africans; those who inhabit the country farther within land are called peasants. They are all of them either Europeans, or descended from Europeans.

State of the inland plantations; and of such as in this country the Dutch style peasants.

There are some settled three hundred leagues from the coast: notwithstanding which distance, they are obliged once a year to appear at a place called Stellenbech, that they may pass in review; for the peasants, as well as the townsmen, are formed into companies commanded by

[e] P. Kolben, Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 27, 28, 29.

proper

proper officers. After the review, they return to their respective dwellings, and generally carry home such tools as they have occasion for in their country work. These people cultivate their ground, and sow rye, barley, beans, &c. They likewise plant vines, which produce very fine grapes, of which they make excellent wine. Some of these peasants are in very happy circumstances, having, besides large and well cultivated plantations, great quantities of sheep and cattle. Amongst other colonies, there is one at the distance of eight leagues from the town, entirely composed of French refugees, who have there a large tract of country very well cultivated. The place where they live is called Drachonstein, and they are allowed churches and ministers of their own nation [f]. Part of the inhabitants of the town are in the service of the company, and the rest are free burgesses. They have their proper magistrates, who decide causes of small consequence, and regulate little disputes that happen amongst them; but as to matters of any importance, they are carried before the governor and his council, who determine finally, and without appeal. In the flat country, the drossard terminates all disputes of small consequence; but any thing of importance is always carried before the governor and his council, by whom it is determined; and their sentences, in civil and criminal affairs, are executed without delay. As for the military establishment, it is exactly on the same foot as at Batavia; the officer who commands in chief has the rank and pay of a major-general. The officers under him are captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, who take care to keep their companies always complete, and well disciplined; so that, in case of an attack, they can draw together at least five thousand men well armed; and as good as any regular troops; every peasant knowing whither to repair, in order to range himself under his proper standard.

A succinct account of the country, the inhabitants from Europe, and the discoveries made there.

The country round the town, at the Cape, is full of vineyards and gardens; the company have two, which are perhaps the finest in the world. One lies at the distance of two hundred paces from the fort, between the town and Table Mountain; it is about fourteen hundred paces in length, and two hundred thirty-five in breadth: a fine rivulet from the mountain runs through the midst of it; it is divided into quarters; and they cultivate therein, with the utmost success, the fruits and flowers

[f] P. Kolben Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. ii. p. 52.

of all the four parts of the world. The other garden is at the distance of two leagues, in that which is called the new country, and is likewise kept in the best order that can be by the slaves of the company, which are seldom less than five hundred [g]. The country thereabouts is mountainous and stony; but the valleys very agreeable, and exceedingly fertile. The climate is the best in the world, for cold and heat are never felt there in extremes; and the people live to great ages without diseases, which are never known but when produced by intemperance. The very mountains, besides contributing to the wholsomeness of the place, are supposed to be full of gold, and other valuable metals: some essays have been made, but as yet no mines have been discovered in such a situation as would permit the working of them to advantage.

A short view of the Hottentot nations dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Dutch colony.

The native Africans consist of seven different nations, all comprehended under the general name of Hottentots. The first of these, and the least considerable, are without a chief, live in the neighbourhood of the Cape, and are most of them in the service of the company, dwell with townsmen, or are employed by the peasants and farmers in cultivating their lands. The second inhabit the mountains, or, to speak with greater propriety, live in the caverns of the mountains. They are thieves by profession, and draw their subsistence entirely from plundering the peaceable Hottentos, with whom they are at continual war. The third nation is called the Little Macqua; the fourth the Great Macqua; the fifth the Little Kricqua; the sixth the Great Kricqua. These words *macqua* and *kricqua* signify *king* or *chief*. They are constantly engaged in war with each other; but, when any nation is in danger of being ruined, two or three others immediately join them; for the balance of power is a maxim as well understood and supported by the Hottentots as by the potentates in Europe [h].

Of the Dutch Hottentots, who live under a prince, vassal to the company.

Part of these have submitted, and are therefore styled the company's Hottentots. The Dutch send annually about fifty or sixty persons to trade with these people, who purchase their cattle, and give them in exchange arrack, tobacco, hemp, and such seeds as they have occasion for, by which means a good understanding is preserved. These

[g] Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé de Choisy, p. 82. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 234. [h] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 235. P. Kolben Description du Cap de Bon Esperance, tom. i. p. 109.

Hot-

Hottentots of the company are very often attacked by the other nations; and, when they find they are no longer able to defend themselves by their own force, the king puts himself at the head of a small body of troops, and marches down to the Cape to demand assistance. As soon as he arrives, he goes to the governor, with the principal people of his nation, holding the commanding staff in his hand, given him by the company, and which has their arms upon it; and, extending it towards the governor, desires he would grant him succours. If the governor does not think fit to yield to his request, but contents himself with giving him good words, he, without more ado, throws his staff at the governor's feet, and tells him in bad Dutch, "Voor my niet meer Compagnies Hottentot," that is, *For me, I will be no more the Company's Hottentot.* The governor, however, generally sends an escort of troops back with him: for it is the interest of the company to be upon good terms with this sort of prince, because he is always ready to do whatever they desire of him.

Some account of the Caffres, a nation more martial and more barbarous than the Hottentots.

The seventh nation is that of the Caffres. These are properly the Anthropophagi, who have made so much noise in the world. The Hottentots are exceedingly afraid of them, and take all the care they can to keep out of their way, for fear of being roasted or boiled if they should be taken prisoners. This abominable nation would never enter into any sort of commerce with the Christians; but, on the contrary, take all the pains they can to entrap them, in order to murder, and, as is generally believed, to eat them. It is indeed reported of late years, they are grown somewhat more tractable, and entertain some sort of trade with those who will venture to have any dealings with them. They are a very potent and warlike nation, being all of them strong well-made men; and, though their hair is curled and black, like that of other negroes, yet they have better faces, and a much more manly appearance [1] (H).

[1] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, tom. i. p. 5. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 240, 241.

(H) What is said in the text of the Caffres is taken from the Dutch writers in general, who perhaps have given a little too much credit to the Hottentots; for, after all, there is some reason to doubt whether these people are men eaters, or void of civility and virtue.

SECT. XXI.

The Government of the Fortress and Territory of Malacca, the last, but not the least considerable, of the Company's first-rate Governments. The Difficulties of reducing it, which fixed them in the Indies; and the great Importance of this Settlement, from its admirable Situation.

Of the city and fortress of Malacca, the last in order of the company's governments.

THE last government is that of Malacca, which city is the capital of a small kingdom of the same name, the inhabitants of which are called Malayans. The governor here is a merchant, and the establishment much the same with those in the other governments. The kingdom of Malacca makes the south part of the peninsula of India, beyond the Ganges; and is divided from the great island of Sumatra by a streight, which bears the name of the Streights of Malacca. The Dutch, after several attempts, took this place from the Portuguese, in 1641, and have maintained themselves in the possession of it ever since. It may not be amiss to describe the manner in which they acquired this strong fortress. They were informed that great disputes subsisted between the garrison and the king of Johore; from which they immediately conceived hopes of reducing it. With this view they fitted out from Batavia a strong fleet, with a great body of land-forces on board; and at the same time concluded an alliance with the king of Johore. This prince, with twenty thousand men, laid siege to the fort by land, while the Dutch distressed it by sea; and yet, for all that both the fleet and army could do, they could not have taken it but by reducing them through famine, which would have taken up a great deal of time; so what they could not effect by force they did by fraud [k].

By what means it came into their hands.

They heard that the Portuguese governor was sordid and avaricious, for which ill qualities he was much hated by the garrison; the Dutch therefore tampered with him by letters, promising him mountains of gold if he would contribute towards their reducing the fort. At length the price was set; eighty thousand pieces of eight were to be the reward of his treachery, and he was to be safely trans-

[k] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 76. Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 317.

ported

ported to Batavia in their fleet, and be made a free denizen there. Upon this condition he gave secret instructions to the Dutch to make an attack on the east side of the fort, and he would perform his part of the convention. He next called a council, and told the officers he had a mind to circumvent the Dutch, by letting them come close to the fort-walls; and then to fire briskly from all quarters, and destroy them at once. In consequence of this intimation, the Dutch made their approaches without molestation, and placed their ladders [l]. The garrison sent message after message, to acquaint the governor of the danger they were in for want of orders to fire or sally on the Dutch, as was agreed on in council; but he delayed so long till the enemy got into the fort, and drove the guard from the east gate, which they soon opened, to receive the rest of their army; who, as soon as they were entered, gave quarter to none that were in arms, marching directly towards the governor's house, where he thought himself secure by the treaty; but they forthwith dispatched him, to save the eighty thousand dollars.

The advantages and inconveniency of this settlement, as they stand at present.

The city is large, and drives a great trade in consequence of its excellent situation, which renders it the storehouse and magazine of all that part of India; but there is one great inconvenience at Malacca, and that is, the scarcity of provisions; and even what little is to be had consists only of different kinds of fish. The inhabitants are of a dark complexion; a brisk, cunning, active people, and great thieves. Some of them are idolaters, but generally speaking they are Mohammedans. The Portuguese had no less than three churches and a chapel within the fort, and one without. That which the Dutch now use for their worship stands conspicuously on the top of a hill, and may be seen up or down the streights at a good distance. A flag-staff is placed on the steeple, on which a flag is hoisted on the sight of any ship [m]. The fort is both large and strong; but the road is at too great a distance for ships to be defended by it, the shallowness of the sea obliging them to lie above a league off. In 1709, the French, coming into the streights with a squadron of three or four sail, and seeing a large ship in the road from Japan, stood in; and would have certainly carried her out, if the wind had not failed them when but a musket-shot from her [n]. At Malacca the streights are not above four leagues broad; for

[l] Hamilton's Voyage to the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 77, 78.
[m] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 803. [n] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 79.

though

though the opposite shore on Sumatra is very low, yet it may be easily seen in a clear day. The sea is always as smooth as a mill-pond, except when ruffled with squalls of wind, which are commonly accompanied with lightning, thunder, and rain; yet, though they come with great violence, they are soon over [o].

Its convenient and important situation, which renders it one of the most considerable ports and fortresses in the East Indies.

The country produces nothing for a foreign market, except a little tin, and elephants teeth; but several excellent fruits and roots for the use of the inhabitants, and strangers who call for refreshments. After all, this is a matter but of small consequence, and would by no means compensate the charge, or justify the prudence of the Dutch company, in taking so much pains, and being at so large an expence, for the preservation of this small district. It is the importance of its situation that makes Malacca so much regarded. It stands as it were in the midst of the sea; and if one may be allowed the expression, divides India from India, that is, there can be no commerce safely carried on from the coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, or the bay of Bengâl, to Sumatra, Borneo, Java, or the rest of the islands, or to China or Japan, without the leave of such as are masters of this streight [p]. It was a just sense of this advantage that put the Portuguese upon taking it; in which however they found more difficulty than in almost any of their conquests. It was this consideration that prompted the Dutch to acquire it, and now renders them so cautious in preserving their acquisition.

SECT. XXII.

An Account of the secondary Governments, or, as the Dutch style them, Directions, on the Coast of Coromandel, in Bengâl, at Surat, and at Gombroon; as also of the Commandants on the Coast of Malabar, and elsewhere.

Directors, though inferior in rank and appointments, have the same power with governors.

WE have now done with the Dutch East India company's governments; and the reader will observe, that, as we hinted before, these are confined to those places of which they are absolute masters, and where other nations have no trade at all, or none but by their permission. But as they carry on a prodigious commerce to places that are not im-

[o] Voyage de Gautier Schouten, tom. ii. p. 134, 135. [p] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 201.

mediately

mediately in their own possession; so those who have the superintendency of their concerns in these places, are distinguished by different titles. The directories of Coromandel, Surat, Bengâl, and Persia, are all of great consequence, and the direction attended with great profit. The directors have, within the extent of their jurisdictions, the same power with the company's governors: the sole distinction is, that the director cannot execute any criminal sentence where he resides, but must cause it to be done under the company's flag; so that all criminals are executed on board a ship [q].

The first direction is that of the coast of Coromandel, the residence of the director fixed to Negapatan.

The directory of Coromandel is the first of the four, and he who presides there has the fort and factories belonging to the Dutch under his inspection; as, in the commerce on this coast, the English and Danes have a share, and have built several good fortresses for its protection. The company have, notwithstanding a very considerable interest in this part of India. Besides Negapatan, which lies on the southermost point of Coromandel, and the fort of Gueldria, in which the director resides, they have the factories of Guenepatnam, Sadrespatnam, Malispatnam, Pelicol, Datskorom, Benlispatnam, Nagernauty, and Golconda. The whole extent of the coast from Nagapatan to Masulapatan may be about one hundred leagues. The Dutch director has a council; and, if he discharges his office with reputation, he is commonly, after a few years, chosen one of the counsellors of the Indies. This is a very wise provision in the management of the company's affairs, that the honour and rank of a counsellor of the Indies, though a post of much less profit than that of a director or governor, makes it aspired to by such as are already in more profitable employments; for it is not a very extraordinary thing in the Indies for a governor, in the space of a few years, to acquire an estate equal to the original capital of the East India company, that is, six millions and a half of guilders, which amounts to upwards of half a million sterling [r]. There are also places at Batavia so very profitable, that, when the principal merchants are possessed of them, they sometimes decline the dignity of counsellor of the Indies, because, however honourable it may be, the profits are but small in comparison of these lucrative employments; such as the shabandar, or *chief of the custom-house*, the fiscal of the sea, the drossard of the flat countries; all which bring in prodigious sums [s].

[q] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 175. [r] Idem ibid. p. 176. [s] Voyage de Nicolas Graaf, p. 300, 301.

Here-

An account of the present condition and importance of this commerce.

Heretofore the country of Coromandel, being divided into a great number of principalities, these little princes or chiefs laid such high duties, and gave such interruptions to trade, as made the Dutch very uneasy; but, after the war of Golconda, which cost the company a great deal of money, but ended at last to their advantage, these princes grew more tractable than formerly. At present the kings of Bisnagar and Narsinga, who are the most powerful in Coromandel, live on pretty good terms with the Dutch, and other Europeans. The chief trade carried on there is in cottons, muslins, and chintses; in exchange for which the Dutch bring them spices, Japan copper, steel, gold-dust, sandal and siampan woods. The inhabitants of the country are some of them Pagans, some Mahommedans, and not a few Christians. During the east monsoon the weather is exceedingly hot, yet the country is very fertile in rice, fruits, herbs, and whatever else is necessary for the support of man. All the manufactures of this country are transported in the company's ships to Batavia, from whence they are sent home to Holland, and thence, with great profit, distributed throughout all Germany and the North.

The second direction, seated at Ouglia, in the bay of Bengal, now in the Mogul's dominions.

The seats of the second and third directions are fixed, the former at Ouglia, on the Ganges, thirty-six leagues from the mouth of that river; the other in the city of Surat, both in the territories of the Great Mogul. Those marts are the most considerable for trade in all Asia: the Dutch, English, French, and other Europeans, traffick to both, and have erected factories and magazines for their security and convenience. The best part of the trade is carried on by Negro merchants, who deal in opium, diamonds, rich stuffs, and all kinds of cotton manufactures. The empire of the Great Mogul is of a prodigious extent, and the countries under his dominion are esteemed the richest in the world. The natives employ themselves, when they reside in towns, in the silk, cotton, and linen manufactures; and in the country, they cultivate their plantations with the utmost diligence; so that they annually transport prodigious quantities of grain from hence to Batavia [t].

Surat, which is also in the Mogul's dominions, the seat of the third direction.

Surat is a town of no very great antiquity, but very large, and immensely rich. It is in compass about five miles within the walls, and the number of inhabitants are computed at two hundred thousand. The Mooriſh, and

[t] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 181.

even

even the Indian merchants, are many of them prodigiously rich. The former addict themselves chiefly to the diamond trade, which is very precarious; for, with some, a small stock produces an immense fortune, whereas others waste prodigious sums, without finding stones of any great value; for, at the diamond mines, they purchase so many yards square at a certain price, pay the slaves who dig and sift the earth, and take whatever stones are found in that spot, which sometimes are of great value, and sometimes so small and so few as not to quit cost [u]. Other Mooriſh merchants deal largely in foreign trade; and, as the Mogul is a very easy master, so there are some that arrive at prodigious wealth, and carry on such a commerce, as can scarce be credited in Europe. At this port, and indeed through all the dominions of the Great Mogul, Europeans deal chiefly for gold and silver, with which they find they purchase commodities upon the easiest terms; and in this particular the Dutch, who settled here about 1616, have a considerable advantage; for, instead of coin or bullion, they bring fine silver from Japan, which bears a better price, as the Indians consume most of the rich metals they obtain in vast services of plate, very rich brocades, or in gold and silver stuffs, of which much is worn in their own country, and not a little transported into Persia, and other places; so that the common opinion of their hoarding up and burying silver is not well founded [w].

The fourth, and last direction, fixed at Gombroon, or Bandar-Abassi, on the coast of Persia.

The fourth and last establishment under a directory is that at Bandar Abassi, on the coast of Persia. The director has a council and a fiscal to assist him. This city stands on the gulf of Balsora, and is the only port which the Persian monarchs have on the Indian sea; it lies at a great distance from Batavia, which is one reason why this direction is not so much sought as others; but there is another more potent, which is, that the heat is greater there than in any other place, and the air excessively unwholsome. To balance these inconveniences, the director of Gombroon has an opportunity of making, in a short time, a vast fortune; so that some, who have been in that direction four or five years, have acquired such estates as rendered it unnecessary to concern themselves any farther in commerce [x]. There are other European nations settled

[u] Miscellanea Curiosa, vol. iii. p. 242. [w] Histoire des Indes, vol. ii. p. 46. Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 149.
[x] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 709, 710.

there

there besides the Dutch; but they have by far the best factory, and have fortified it so effectually, that though the Highlanders in its neighbourhood, who are a crew of bold and barbarous robbers, have often attacked, yet they never could master it. This city is but a disagreeable place to live in, since in August it is so hot, that there is no bearing it, and in the winter so cold, that they not only wear English cloth, but line it with furs [y]. They have here black cattle, sheep, goats, fowl, and fish, very good, and tolerably cheap; grapes, melons, and mangoes, in the utmost perfection; excellent wine, esteemed by the best judges superior to that of all other countries. In those troubles, which have for many years disturbed the whole dominions of Persia, all trading nations have had their share, and the Dutch amongst the rest; neither is it possible to say in what state their affairs stand in this empire at present.

Commandants and chiefs, officers of the third rank in the company's service.

After directors, the next rank in the Dutch East India company's service is commandant, or chief. In some places, where military skill, and a strict attention to the safety of the place committed to his care, is chiefly required, the power is intrusted with an officer, who has the title of commandant; and in other places, where almost the sole concern is trade, a merchant is at the head of the company's affairs, who is styled the Dutch chief. As directors are restrained from causing criminals to be executed, except under the company's flag, on board one of their ships; so there is a farther restriction upon a commandant or chief, for his sentence is not valid till revised and confirmed by the general and council at Batavia [z]. We shall take the same method in speaking of these that have been pursued, in giving an account of the governors and directors, as indeed there is no other method by which the power and influence of this company in the Indies can be thoroughly shewn, or an adequate idea given of its present state and strength.

Couchin, the residence of the company's commandant upon the coast of Malabar.

The coast of Malabar extends about a hundred and fifty leagues in length, and in breadth about twenty. The climate, though very warm, is very wholsome; the soil also is fertile, in rice, fruit, and all sorts of herbs. This country is divided into abundance of small principalities; among which, the following have the title of kingdoms: Cananor, Calecut, Cranganor, Couchin, Calicoulang,

[y] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 94, 95.
[z] L' Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 188, 189.

Porca,

Porca, Coulang, and Travankor [a]. As the capital of the Dutch poſſeſſions in this country is the city Couchin, where the commandant reſides, we ſhall particularly deſcribe that little kingdom. It reaches from Chitwa, about twenty-four leagues to the ſouthward, and, on the coaſt, is divided by the rivulets that run from the mountains of Gatti, into a multitude of ſmall iſlands; and theſe rivers have two great mouths, or outlets, one at Couchin, the other at Cranganor. The Portugueſe built, at the firſt of theſe, a fine city, on the river-ſide, about three leagues from the ſea; but, the ſea gaining on the land yearly, it is not diſtant now above one hundred paces. The city built by the Portugueſe was a mile and an half long, and a mile broad. The Dutch took it about the year 1662, when Heitloff van Ghonz was general of their forces by land and ſea, and the king of Couchin aſſiſted with twenty thouſand men [b].

The manner in which the Dutch reduced this place when under the Portugueſe.

The Dutch had ſcarcely inveſted the place, before Van Ghonz received advice of a peace between Portugal and Holland; but that he kept a ſecret. He therefore, having made a breach in the weakeſt part of the wall, proceeded to an aſſault for eight days and nights, without intermiſſion, and relieved his men every three hours; but the Portugueſe keeping their's continually upon duty all the while, and finding the city at laſt in danger of being taken by ſtorm, delivered up the place. In the town there were four hundred Topaſſes, who had done good ſervice, but were not comprehended in the treaty. As they knew the cruelty and licentiouſneſs of the Dutch ſoldiery, they drew up on a parade, within the port at which the Portugueſe were to go out, and the Dutch to enter, and ſwore, that if they had not the ſame favour granted as the Portugueſe, they would maſſacre them all, and ſet fire to the town. The Dutch general knew his intereſt too well to deny what they deſired, and offered, moreover, to take thoſe who had a mind to ſerve into Dutch pay; an offer which many of them accepted. The very next day came a frigate from Goa, with the articles of peace; and the Portugueſe complaining loudly of the general's unfair dealings, were anſwered, that the Portugueſe had acted the ſame farce towards the Dutch, at their taking Fernambuco, in Braſil, a few years before [c].

[a] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 783, 784, 785. [b] Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Ind. vol. i. p. 323. [c] Ibid. p. 329, 330.

The

Upon this revolution, the English, who had a factory there, were obliged to withdraw.

The English had then a factory in Couchin; but the Dutch ordered them to remove, with their effects, to Pennany. The Dutch, thinking the place too large, contracted it to one-tenth of what it was. It is about six hundred paces long, and two hundred broad, fortified with seven large bastions, and curtains so thick, that two rows of large trees are planted on them, for shade in the hot season. Some streets built by the Portuguese are still standing, with a church for the Dutch service, and the cathedral, which is now turned into a warehouse. The commander's house, a stately structure, is the only house built after the Dutch mode, and the river washes some part of its walls. Their flag-staff is placed on the steeple of the old cathedral, on a mast of seventy-five feet high, so that the flag may be seen above seven leagues off. The garrison here generally consists of three hundred effective men: from hence to Cape Comorin, are allowed for garrisons, in all their forts and factories, five hundred soldiers, and one hundred seamen, Europeans, besides some Topasses, and the militia. The country produces great quantities of pepper, but lighter than that which grows more to the north. Their woods afford good teak for building, and angelique and pawpeet for making large chests and cabinets, which are carried all over the west coasts of India. They have also iron and steel in plenty, and bees-wax, for exporting [d].

A considerable settlement of the Jews at Cranganor from the time of the captivity.

Cranganor lies a league up the river from the sea, and the Dutch have also a fort there. This place is remarkable for having been formerly the seat of a Jewish government, that nation having been once so numerous there, that they could reckon above eighty thousand families, but at present are reduced to four thousand. They have a synagogue at Couchin, not far from the king's palace, about two miles from the city, in which are carefully kept their records, engraven on copper-plates, in Hebrew characters; and when any of the characters decay, they are new cut; so that they can shew their history from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to this present time [e].

Between Cranganor and Couchin there is an island called Bayhin, four leagues long, but no part of it is two miles broad. The Dutch forbid all vessels or boats to enter at Cranganor and at Couchin. The channel is about a quarter of a mile broad, but very deep, though the bar has

[d] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, vol. ii. p. 190, 191. [e] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 784.

not

not above fourteen feet water at spring-tides. It is from the large extent of country, and the considerable body of troops, over which he has an entire command, that the officer who presides at Couchin is looked upon as the first of his rank [f].

Ponte de Galo, on the island of Ceylon, the second post in which the Dutch have a commander.

The second commandery in the company's service is that of Ponte de Galo, in the island of Ceylon, the first fortress of consequence that fell into the hands of the Dutch, and a place, both from its situation and strength, of very great importance. The port is more capacious, and much more commodious than that of Columbo, but is somewhat exposed to the west winds. The commander is subject to the orders of the governor of Ceylon, and can do nothing without his approbation. The reason of preserving this distinct command is, that before the rest of the coast was reduced, this officer was at the head of the company's affairs in the island, and it still remains a post both of honour and profit, from whence, in process of time, such as discharge it with reputation are frequently raised to be governors [g]. It is here that the greatest part of the trade of the natives is carried on; and it may not be amiss to observe, that, as amongst the Chingualeys, every trade, and every profession, is confined to a particular tribe, or, as they style them, casts; so those who exercise merchandize are divided into four casts, which are thus distinguished: the Chittays, that is to say, merchants who deal in drugs of all kinds, linens, and other manufactures, and who are sometimes also concerned in shipping; the Caverchittays, who deal in gold, silver, and other metals, in which they make assays, and are very skilful; the Cometi-chittays, they vend grain, roots, herbs, and other kinds of provision. The Valigi-chittays, whose traffic consists in jewels, crystals, toys of their own making, and all sorts of minerals. Each of these casts live distinct and separate, never intermarry, nor so much as eat and drink one with another; which is also an inviolable rule among the casts of other professions.

The last officer with that title resident at Samarang, in the island of Java.

The fourth commandery is that of Samarang, in the island of Java, which stands at the distance of sixty-eight miles from Batavia, and is one of the most considerable towns in that great island. It is very agreeably seated, in a fine and fertile plain, with a large river running through

[f] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii p. 190. [g] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 851. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 192.

it, navigable for small vessels. It is computed that the town does not consist of fewer than twenty thousand houses. The Dutch factory is very large and commodious, the fort strong, well fortified, and held by a garrison that is always complete. The commander has under his direction all the adjacent coast; and the commerce here is very considerable, as well with the Chinese, who resort thither in great numbers. It is from hence that the Dutch correspond with the emperor of Java, who holds his court at Cartasoura, distant from thence about four days journey, a city consisting of about thirty thousand houses, some built of stone, some of wood, and some of bamboo-canes. He resided formerly at Mataram, a day's journey farther from Samarang, being without comparison, the largest city in the whole island, two full leagues in length, and containing upwards of sixty thousand houses. The commander of Samarang is always an officer of distinction, one upon whose judgment, activity, and fidelity, the company can entirely rely; for otherwise, any mistake or omission of his might be very fatal to their affairs, in a country where the people are restrained only by an apprehension of superior force; which, however, seldom keeps them from carrying on secret intrigues, and dark contrivances [h].

SECT. XXIII.

The Third Order of Governments under those who are styled only Chiefs.

First chief established at Bantam, in the same island, which is an office of great emolument.

AT Bantam, on the same island, the head of the factory has the title of chief. There is a very strong fort there, and a numerous garrison, to keep the people in awe, who are very mutinous, and far enough from being well affected to the Dutch. The king has also a fort, at the distance of some hundred paces from that of the company, in which he has likewise a good garrison, for the security of his person. The only commodity of the country is pepper, of which they are able to export annually ten thousand tons. The bay of Bantam is very safe and pleasant, in which are many islands that still retain the names given them by the English, who had formerly a

[h] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 865. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 190.

very

very fine factory at this place, from which they were expelled in 1683 [i]. The East India company oblige the king to furnish them with a certain quantity of pepper; in all other respects they treat him kindly enough, because it is their interest so to do. He is the sovereign of a great country well peopled: his subjects are a hardy, enterprising nation, perfidious, revengeful, and naturally hating all Christians to the last degree. Such being the character of the natives, the Dutch are kept continually upon their guard; no private person, nay, no company of a score, or better, dare stir from under the cover of their fortifications; if they did, the first Javanese that had it in his power would infallibly deprive him of life [k].

The second post of chief fixed at Padang, on the coast of the island of Sumatra.

The second, who is styled chief, resides at Padang, on the coast of Sumatra, otherwise called the Gold Coast. This chief has his council and fiscal, like the rest, and it is usually considered as a very profitable employment. Sumatra is a very large fine island, separated from the continent of Asia by the streights of Malacca, and is justly regarded as one of the richest countries in the Indies. It is, according to the best accounts, upwards of four hundred leagues in circumference. The greatest and most powerful monarch therein is the king of Achem, or, as it is written in the Indies, Atcheen [l]. It was formerly governed by a woman; and queen Elizabeth held a close correspondence with the queen of Achem, who was living in her time. It is not above forty years since the government fell into the hands of a man, and several attempts have been made since to restore the old constitution, under which the people were much happier than any of their neighbours. It is to this day a free port, to which the English, Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, and in short, all the nations of Europe and Asia, trade with safety. The merchandize carried thither consists in rich brocades, silks, muslins of all sorts, raw silk, fish, butter, oil, and ammunition, for which they are paid chiefly in gold, the great commodity of the country, and remarkably fine. Almost all the mountains abound with gold, silver, lead, and other metals. The company is possessed of some mines of gold which are very rich, and great care taken both to secure and conceal the profits that are made of them. There are likewise great quantities of gold-dust

[i] Captain Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 127.
[k] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 194. [l] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 202.

found in the rivulets of this country, eſpecially during the time the weſt monſoon reigns, becauſe then the torrents roll from the mountains with greater rapidity (I). There is alſo abundance of copper, of which they make great guns; ſeveral ſorts of precious ſtones; and a mountain of burning brimſtone, which continually throws out flames, like mount Gibel in Sicily. There are not any of thoſe ſorts of corn that grow in Europe, but plenty of rice, millet, and fruits, which afford good and ſufficient nouriſhment for the inhabitants. It produces likewiſe abundance of honey, bees-wax, ginger, camphor, caſſia,

(I) Upon comparing the beſt accounts that can be had of this iſland, it very fully appears, that not only gold abounds in almoſt all parts of it, but, what can ſcarce be ſaid of any other country, there are found in Sumatra all the different ſorts of gold of which we find any mention made by ſuch as are beſt acquainted with that precious metal, and the different methods in which it is collected. We have, in the text, ſpoken of the more common ways of coming at gold in Sumatra; but, beſide theſe, there are others not ſo generally known. Some of the ſervants in the Dutch factories have, at the proper ſeaſon of the year, ſtaked flannel waiſtcoats in the ſmall rivulets running down from the mountains, and by wringing them twice or thrice in twenty-four hours, have obtained conſiderable quantities of gold duſt. By waſhing the mud taken out of the holes in the rock, they obtain bits of gold from the bigneſs of pins heads to pieces weighing a quarter of an ounce, and ſometimes more, but the latter are very rare. Larger pieces of gold are ſometimes taken out of a rich, black, ſoft mould; but, except the gold-duſt, theſe are of a low touch, that is, are far from being pure. The high mountains in the center of the iſland are inhabited by a race of wild and ſavage people, who exchange with their more civilized neighbours for neceſſaries, and more eſpecially, when they can get them, for arms and ammunition, a ſort of rock gold, than which there is none finer in the world; and from theſe people are ſometimes purchaſed pieces of the rock, which appears to be a kind of white ſolid marble, through which there run ſprigs, or, if we may be allowed ſo to call them, veins of pure gold, ſome ſcarce bigger than a hair, and others as large as a common quill. Theſe rocky fragments are preſerved as curioſities in the cabinets of perſons of diſtinction at Batavia (1).

(1) Voyages de Nicolas Graaf aux Indes Orientales, p. 22. L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, tom. ii. p. 198. Memoires ſur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 203.

pepper,

pepper, white ſanders, and eſpecially cotton, of which the inhabitants make their garments, and a variety of manufactures [m].

Few countries richer in gold than this iſland of Sumatra.

There is no country in the Indies, where, during the weſtern monſoons, the rains fall with greater violence, or are attended with more terrible ſtorms of thunder, lightning, and earthquakes, than Sumatra; but the natives, being uſed to them, are not much alarmed, bear them patiently, and are ſeldom heard to complain of their climate. Theſe people are, generally ſpeaking, Mohammedans, and are very expert in making all ſorts of gold plate with very few tools, and yet with ſuch inimitable dexterity, that what is of their workmanſhip ſells at a very great rate throughout all the Indies. The company ſends every year a great number of ſlaves to work in their gold mines. The kings in that part of the country are very rarely upon good terms with the Dutch, and ſometimes quarrel with the company, and draw all their ſubjects out of their ſervice. The principal places where gold is found by the natives of the country, are Triou and Manincabo. Their moſt uſual method of coming at it is thus: they dig, at the bottom of the mountain, ditches, where the water being ſtopped as it pours down in the winter, they draw it off in the ſummer, and by waſhing the mud which remains at the bottom, obtain from thence conſiderable quantities of gold-duſt. It is generally believed that this iſland furniſhes annually five thouſand pounds weight of this precious metal; yet very little, if any, is ever brought to Europe, the Eaſt India company employing it in other places where gold is valuable, and where they can purchaſe other commodities which at home turn to a better account [n].

Another Dutch factory fixed at Pullambam.

The Dutch have a factory at Pullambam, about eight leagues from the coaſt, on the banks of a very large river, that empties itſelf into the ſea by four different channels. The great trade carried on there is that of pepper, which the Eaſt India company would willingly monopolize in the ſame manner they they engroſs cloves, cinnamon, and nutmegs. With this view they are at the expence of ſeveral armed barks cruiſing at the mouth of this river to prevent what they are pleaſed to call ſmuggling. It muſt be allowed that they have made a contract with the king to take off all the pepper in his dominions, at the rate of

[m] Geographie Moderne, par Abraham du Bois, p. 685. [n] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. ii. p. 213.

ten pieces of eight for a bahaar, or four hundred pounds which is a very fair price. They have, however, a ſaving clauſe in their contract, by which it is provided, that half the purchaſe of pepper ſhall be taken in cloth, at ſuch a rate as greatly reduces the value of their cargoes; and it is for this reaſon that the Dutch are ſo much afraid of ſmuggling. Yet, in ſpite of all their armed barks, it is a thing notoriouſly known, that, for a thouſand florins to his majeſty of Pullambam, and as much to the Dutch chief, a cargo of a thouſand bahaars of pepper may be carried off the iſland without any great trouble [o].

A third on the river Bancalis.

On the banks of the river Bancalis they have another very conſiderable factory, which produces annually vaſt ſums from the ſale of cloth and opium, which are paid for in gold-duſt. This was diſcovered by a factor in the company's ſervice, who, after he had carried it on privately for about ten years, and acquired by it upwards of ten thouſand pounds ſterling per annum, prudently reſolved to ſecure what he had got by making a diſcovery of this branch of commerce to the company. There are likewiſe ſeveral other Dutch plantations on this iſland, which are altogether comprehended under the general title of the weſt coaſt [p]. Beſides theſe, and all the places before mentioned, the Dutch have a ſtrong fort and great factory at Jambie, and another at Siack, which is exceſſively unwholeſome. It ſtands on the great river Andraghira, into which, at a certain ſeaſon of the year, there come vaſt quantities of ſhads of a very large ſize, one third of which is owing to their roes, which are accounted a great delicacy. Theſe being extracted, the reſt of the fiſh is thrown away, and, lying in great heaps, corrupt and exhale peſtilential vapours that infect the air. The perſons, therefore, that are ſent to Siack, are much of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe that are carried to Banda, that is to ſay, men of abandoned characters and deſperate fortunes. To ſpeak plainly, there is too much gold in this country, if any credit may be given to the Dutch themſelves, for honeſty to take any deep root; the chiefs of Padang being more expoſed to ſuſpicion, and falling oftener under proſecutions, than any other perſons of their rank in the company's ſervice; an occurrence that is aſcribed to ſome ſtrange circumſtances that attend the company's mines, which produce no great matters;

[o] Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 118, 119.
[p] Memoires de Dr. Garcin.

though

though these chiefs, and all their under-officers, acquire great estates in two or three years, by methods which the general and council at Batavia are seldom able to discover. The company sometimes build ships at some of their settlements in this island, not for the sake of saving expences, but on account of the excellence of the timber; those vessels lasting at least twice as long as ships of the same bulk built in Europe [q].

SECT. XXIV.

A complete History of the Commerce and State of the Dutch Company at Japan.

The person entrusted with the company's affairs in Japan is the third chief.

THE third chief resides at Japan; he is always a principal merchant, and is assisted by some writers in the company's service. The profit which they formerly made by this establishment was very considerable, amounting frequently to eighty or a hundred per cent. but is now sunk, as some writers affirm, to such a degree, that they rarely make above eight or ten. This great diminution is chiefly owing to the practice of the Chinese, who, for some time past, have purchased all sorts of goods proper for that market at Canton, and exported from thence to Japan. It is also said that they have contracted with the Japanese to furnish them with all sorts of merchandize at the same price that the Dutch demand. Another cause is, a practice established by the Japanese themselves, which is, fixing the price of goods [r]. It is very possible that some improvements of this notion have been suggested to them by the Chinese, who were treated in the same manner formerly at Batavia. The governor-general, Van Zwol, thought proper to set a price on all sorts of silks, and other goods, the Chinese brought to Batavia; and at the same time fixed the rate of the commodities and manufactures which the company were to give in exchange. This method the Chinese looked upon as a prodigious hardship, and a thing incompatible with the nature of commerce. They represented it in the strongest terms to the general, but to no manner of purpose. They then addressed themselves to their sovereign; and complained of this innovation so warmly, that,

[q] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 202, 203. [r] Memoires de Dr. Garcin.

after various expostulations with the governor, all commerce ceased between the two nations, and things continued in this posture till the death of Mr. Van Zwol; but his successor, Mr. Swaardekroon, acting upon quite different principles, restored things to their former state, and put their commerce on the old foot[s]. With no small difficulty things were brought to this pass also in Japan, and upon repeated applications, trade restored to its old channel. Yet not long after the court gave into a new project, to the full as oppressive; and this was, fixing the quantity of goods which should be brought on board each squadron, that is to say, the Dutch were left at liberty to bring what they would, to sell and buy at what price they would, provided they kept the whole of their dealings within the compass of a sum prescribed. Upon this subject they had recourse to fresh remonstrances, which were not altogether ineffectual, and yet did not procure an entire abolition of this troublesome edict[t].

No place in the Indies where the Dutch have so little authority as in Japan.

Upon the whole, there is no place in the East Indies where the Dutch have so little authority, and where their establishment is become of so little consequence, as in Japan. They have, it is true, a little island allowed them, where they have magazines for their goods, and a few ordinary houses, in which such persons live as are in the company's service; but then this is in effect a prison, in which they are shut up the time they stay here, and are not so much as allowed to pass the bridge that joins this island to the city of Nangazaqui. The only shadow of liberty that is left consists in the chief's going once a year, attended by two or three other persons, to the court of the emperor, in quality of ambassador, to renew the treaty of amity and commerce which subsists between that monarch and the company. One great cause assigned for holding the Dutch to such hard terms, is, their having attempted familiarities with Japanese women; but the true reason is, a well-grounded suspicion that the Dutch have an inclination to fix themselves by force, of which they have more than once given some very apparent tokens; the last of which, notwithstanding it fell out many years ago, yet is like to be ever remembered[u].

[s] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, p. 202, 203. [t] P. Charlevoix, Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 450. [u] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 202, 203.

It

It happened, as is reported, thus: Mr. Carron, their chief in Japan, was a perſon of great parts, and one, who, in ſeveral journies he made to the emperor's court, had found means to ingratiate himſelf with that monarch, by entertaining him with accounts of the ſtate of Europe at that time, which that prince, and indeed all the Japaneſe emperors, are very curious to know. Having by theſe means frequent acceſs to the imperial preſence, he, preſuming on his credit with the emperor, begged permiſſion to build a houſe on the little iſland where their factory ſtood, on his maſters account; which the emperor granted. Accordingly the foundation was laid; the buſineſs went chearfully on, till it grew into a handſome fortification of a regular tetragon. The Japaneſe, being entirely ignorant of the art of fortification, had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of deceit, but ſuffered them to complete it. When it was finiſhed, Mr. Carron adviſed the general and council at Batavia of the progreſs he had made; and deſired, by the next ſhipping, to have ſome cannon ſent him in caſks filled with oakum or cotton, the caſks to be well bound with iron hoops, and the heads ſecurely fixed in; with ſome caſks of the ſame make filled with ſpices: which advice was accordingly followed. When the ſhipping arrived, the cargo in a proper time was landed; but in rolling the caſks, one, in which was a braſs gun, fell to pieces, and the cheat was diſcovered. This incident put a ſtop to all commerce till the emperor's pleaſure was known; and gave that monarch a very bad impreſſion of the Dutch, and of all who were employed by them. He would not however prohibit trade; but gave orders to put any Dutchman to death who ſhould preſume to ſtir out of the iſland; and directed that Mr. Carron ſhould be ſent to anſwer for this fault to Jeddo, where he reſided. On his arrival, being interrogated, he was able to ſay nothing in excuſe; when the emperor reproached him with abuſing his kindneſs: for which he had his beard pulled out hair by hair; and then, being dreſſed in a fool's coat and cap, he was expoſed in that condition through all the ſtreets in the city. After this ceremony he was ſent back to his factory, with orders to return in the firſt ſhip that was ſent to Batavia. This ſeems to be a more probable account of his diſgace, and of demoliſhing the Dutch warehouſes, than what we find elſewhere given [w]; as alſo for the bad reception that

Mr. Carron, while chief at Japan, attempts, though unſucceſsfully, an eſtabliſhment by force.

[w] Recueil de Voyages au Nord, tom. iii. p. 246.

Carron

Carron met with at Batavia, which induced him to desert the Dutch East India company's service, and to put himself into that of the French king.

A concise account of the nature of the Japanese government, and its ruling maxim.

The government in Japan is despotic; and, as is usual in all absolute governments, the prime ministers, while in favour, exercise the supreme authority in the name of their masters; so that it is very difficult, if not altogether impracticable, to obtain any relief from the grievances they impose, or any redress of their acts of injustice, more especially when the sufferers are strangers. The Japanese ministers have their maxims of state as well as other nations; and those who have negociated with them, allow, that they want not either parts or penetration. In the space of one hundred and fifty years that the Dutch have been settled here, they have been able to learn but little with certainty concerning the extent of this empire, or the true situation of its affairs; from whence it appears, that, with them, secrecy passes for the very basis of policy; and, though their ministers are not wanting in good sense, learning, or politeness, yet the humour of talking of their affairs, or of giving more light than is absolutely necessary as to the motives upon which they act, is not among the number of their foibles; otherwise we should not be so much at a loss upon this head as we really are, notwithstanding so many descriptions and accounts of islands of Japan that have been published in various languages, from the perusal of which a judicious reader will reap but little satisfaction [x].

Are naturally and generally as much addicted to traffic as any nation whatever.

It is generally allowed that the bulk of the nation have a strong propensity to commerce. In their villages, as well as great towns, almost every private house is a magazine for some kind of traffic or other, so that it has been thought no bad description of the Japanese to stile them a nation of shopkeepers. Yet this general propensity does not hinder persons of rank, and of learned professions, from entertaining a very low and mean opinion of trade, from a notion that the desire of gain is a principle of fraud, and must consequently produce many vices (K).

The

[x] Rélation concernant l'Empire et le Governement du Japon, par François Caron, President de la Compagnie Hollandoise du Japon, dressé par ordre de Monsieur Lucas, Directeur-General des affaires de la même Compagnie des Indes Orientales, p. 4.

(K) According to the ancient fundamental maxims of this empire, there is no such thing as duty, imposition, custom, or excise, upon any kind of commodity or manufacture exported

Anciently the commerce of Japan entirely free and open to all nations, though now reſtrained.

The Japaneſe heretofore had a pretty general intercourſe with the nations of the Eaſt, both by receiving their commodities, and tranſporting their own; and it is in a great meaſure probable at leaſt, if not certain, that the government would be inclined to a free trade with all nations, if they were not with-held by theſe two political conſiderations: the firſt is, the dread of having their religion inſulted, which, from a miſguided zeal, was very frequent while there were Chriſtians among the Japaneſe. The other, their averſion to any innovation in the manners of their people, from which they apprehend the worſt conſequences. When the Dutch were firſt eſtabliſhed there, the prime miniſter of Japan gave their embaſſador this account of the matter [f]: "We do not condemn your cuſtoms, or cenſure your way of living; but we are determined to preſerve our own. We know very well the advantages that reſult from the ſyſtem of government eſtabliſhed amongſt us, and we will not run the hazard of a change; we know, too, that great revolutions are brought about by imperceptible degrees, and therefore we are reſolved to cure the itch of novelty by the rod of puniſhment." Upon this maxim that law is founded, by which no Japaneſe dares leave his country; and, if he does, he muſt never return. Before this pro-

[f] P. Charlevoix Hiſtoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 134, 135.

ported or imported, nor is there any thing levied for the uſe of the emperor to the prejudice of their interior traffic, but every man enjoys the produce of his own goods, and the fruits of his own labour: but, to prevent private perſons from impoſing upon each other, weights and meaſures have a legal ſtandard, and an iron ell is fixed at each end of every public ſtreet, that, if any body ſuſpects any foul dealing, it may be detected upon the ſpot, and, in that caſe, nothing leſs than death is the puniſhment; but for frauds of a deeper and more ſerious nature, not only the party offending but his whole family ſuffer, that it may be a warning to the neighbourhood. In ſupport of this the Japaneſe ſtateſmen ſay, that, where there are many traders, there muſt be ſevere laws to keep them honeſt; and that a few rigorous executions is the only way to prevent a great many. As for large payments amongſt them, they are made by purſes of gold ſealed by one of the emperor's officers; and, ſo long as the purſe and the ſeal continue whole, they paſs without ſcruple from hand to hand, without being ever opened, or the pieces counted, though ſome of theſe purſes contain five hundred and ſome a thouſand pounds, of our money.

hibition

hibition took place, they traded to China, Siam, and to the Philippine and Molucca Iſlands; but at preſent, as far as we can learn, they carry on no foreign commerce whatever[g].

Terms on which the foreign commerce of Japan ſtands at preſent.

Theſe general obſervations will enable us to ſtate more clearly that ſo much envied trade which the Dutch Eaſt India company ſtill enjoy in this empire; in which though they have no European competitors, yet the Chineſe are ſtill permitted to ſend thither annually goods to the value of ſix hundred thouſand taels. The Siameſe likewiſe ſend thither two or three veſſels every year; and the like number arrive from Camboya, though it is generally underſtood that theſe are freighted by the Chineſe who reſide there; to theſe if we add the inhabitants of the iſland of Liquios, who have likewiſe ſome ſmall ſhare in the Japan trade, we may venture to affirm, that we have named all who have any concern therein[h]. It is highly probable, that, from that ſpirit of jealouſy which has long prevailed in the Japaneſe government, they would be inclined to ſhut out ſome of theſe, if they were not apprehenſive of conveniences: as it is, they make their commerce ſo troubleſome and uneaſy, that nothing but the vaſt profits ariſing from the commodities they vend could induce any nation to diſpenſe with their regulations; but if it be true, that the Dutch gain annually half a million ſterling, excluſive, as ſome think, of the private trade, it accounts well enough for their conduct; and what that is, we ſhall next endeavour to ſhew as perſpicuouſly, and at the ſame time as ſuccinctly, as poſſible.

At what time, and with what cargoes, the Dutch ſend their annual ſhips to Japan.

The Dutch ſent annually four ſhips from Batavia formerly, but now they ſend only two to Japan, of between thirty and fifty pieces of cannon; but indifferently armed, becauſe there is little danger in theſe ſeas, and that they may give the leſs umbrage to the Japaneſe, who ſee with ſuſpicion ſhips of great force upon their coaſts. Theſe veſſels are laden with ſuch European and Indian goods as are in demand at Japan, ſuch as Engliſh and Dutch cloths, camblets of all ſorts, brocades, gold and ſilver, very rich ſilks of all colours, and eſpecially crimſon and white raw ſilk, raw cotton, and ſpun cotton, tapeſtries, lead, ſteel, and refined ſugars, and ſpices of all kinds, Morocco leather, and all ſorts of ſkins, particularly buck and doe, of which

[g] Memoires de Dr. Garcin. Recueil de Voyages au Nord, tom. iii. p. 130. [h] Memoires du Japon, p. 135.

they

they carry a prodigious quantity, and about half the quantity of ox-hides. They ſail about the middle of June, and the firſt land they make is uſually the iſland of Poltimon, which is in the latitude of 2 deg. 50 min. north. There they take in water, and other refreſhments; and then continue their voyage to Japan, where they arrive in Auguſt; and finding every thing ready prepared for them, their goods are quickly got on ſhore, and brought into their warehouſes, ſorted, and fitted for ſale. The merchants likewiſe are ſummoned from the adjacent countries, and have catalogues given them of the goods brought by the laſt fleet; ſo that all is over by the latter end of October, and the ſhips are ready to ſail very early in the next month, when the Japaneſe never fail to preſs them to be gone [1]. The Dutch were formerly ſettled in the iſland of Firando; and that in which they are now fixed is properly called Deſima, being made by art, and originally raiſed to confine the Portugueſe, in the year 1635. This diſgrace is generally reported to have been drawn upon them by the intrigues of the Dutch; and if the fact be true, they have ſuffered very juſtly for their contrivance.

A ſhort deſcription of the little iſland of Deſima.

This iſland is oblong, joined to the city of Nangazaqui by a ſtone bridge, with a wooden draw-bridge at the end. Where the bridge joins the city, there is a ſtrong corps de garde poſted night and day. At the entrance from the bridge there is a large ſtone pillar, upon which hang, in ſeveral tables, the emperor's edicts for the regulation of the Dutch trade; and three high poſts are ſet up in the ſea, to mark the places where the Dutch ſhips are to anchor, to prevent their coming near the city. The iſland is paliſadoed like a park, and thoſe paliſades ſpiked. It is not, in its greateſt extent, above two hundred and forty paces in length, and not more than eighty broad. There is a ſtreet acroſs it, with houſes, or rather huts on both ſides; the lower ſtory of each ſerves for a warehouſe, and the upper for the lodging rooms. There is a very convenient houſe for the Japaneſe director of trade, who goes thither when the ſhips arrive; beſides another handſome houſe for the Japaneſe magiſtrate, who always reſides there, which has its garden; for in all their great cities the Japaneſe have a particular magiſtrate in every ſtreet, who is called the ottona; and they look upon the iſland of Deſima as nothing more than a ſtreet added to their city of Nangaſaqui, and therefore there is an ottona here as well as in other ſtreets.

[1] Voyage de Gautier Schouten, tom. ii. p. 118.

Another

Another proof that this belongs abſolutely to the natives, and is not at all conveyed to the Dutch, is, that theſe laſt are obliged to pay a very high rent for their little wooden houſes, to thoſe who were at the charge of building them when the Portugueſe were ſent thither. By this account it is eaſy to perceive, that it produces nothing; and that there is no room to plant any thing, if they were permitted to take that trouble, which they are not, but are furniſhed from day to day with all the neceſſaries of life at a very high price, and by ſuch only as have this monopoly [k].

The ſtrict regulations to which they are obliged to ſubmit during their reſidence there.

The Dutch reſident in this iſland ſeldom exceed the number of forty-five; and the Japaneſe oblige them to change their chief every year, though, after he has been abſent two years, the ſame perſon may be ſent again; ſo that commonly there are three perſons who have this poſt by way of rotation, one reſident in the iſland, another in his paſſage, and a third at Batavia, till his two years are expired. On the whole, though the Dutch have taken all the pains they can to make this place convenient, yet, in ſpite of their care, it is a very indifferent abode, and very little reſembles any of their other ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. They are alſo much reſtrained in adding any thing either to their houſes, magazines, or little wharfs for landing their goods, ſince they cannot build, or make the leaſt alteration, without firſt delivering a petition, with a plan annexed, to the ottona, by whom it is tranſmitted to the governor; ſo that it is ſometimes a full year before they can obtain this permiſſion; and even then there is an inſpector appointed, to ſee that in nothing they exceed their original plan. Such are the reſtraints to which thoſe are liable that are left behind in the Dutch factory; which renders their courſe of life unpleaſant enough, little, if at all, better than remaining all that time in a priſon, and that too of a very narrow extent, where the inconveniences to which they are expoſed are many, and their amuſements few. Let us now ſee how the new comers are treated upon the arrival of the annual veſſels. It muſt be obſerved, that no ſhips ſent thither muſt have any figure whatever at their ſtern, becauſe the Japaneſe, obſerving that the Dutch have no images, took it into their heads that they were placed there in deriſion of their idols, and therefore prohibited this cuſtom as an inſult upon their religion [l].

[k] Memoires ſur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 197. Memoires de Dr. Garcin. [l] Kæmpfer, Chardin, Carron, Charlevoix, Garcin.

The

The very moment that the ships arrive in the road, the governor sends several boats, filled with Japanese, on board, who take all their cannon, small arms, sails, cordage, and spare anchors, into their possession. The crews of these ships are confined to the island, as well as the people of the factory, unless they have a licence to go into the city, and even this is restrained to four at a time. The prices of their goods are set by the Japanese directors of trade, as are likewise the prices of the goods they take in exchange, and sales are made when and how they please. It is true, they are allowed to send the chief of their factory, with two or three attendants, to Jeddo, to the emperor; but in their journey, they travel under the escort of a Japanese guard, who will not suffer them to make any excursions by the way, or to visit any great lords. They are under the same or greater restraints during the short stay they make at Jeddo, where they have little other business than to deliver their presents to the emperor, and to particular princes and grandees of his court, to renew the treaty of commerce; which, being a thing of form, is speedily dispatched; and then they are ordered to return, having a guard about them, while they remain there, and another to escort them back [m]. Of all the restrictions their trade labours under, the Dutch are made most uneasy by their having the quantity of goods limited to the value of three hundred and eighty thousand taels, or one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling; and of this therefore they complained bitterly to the officers, and at last to the emperor himself. The Japanese treated them, on this occasion, with great address; they told them, that they knew and understood the thing to be an hardship; insinuated, that it did not proceed from any diffidence or disrespect, but was done purely to justify the same restraint on the Chinese, the number of whose junks increased every year; and, as there were frequently Tartars amongst them, they could not help suspecting that they might have some worse design than getting money by trade; but, for fear of bringing that evil upon themselves which they were labouring to avoid, they thought it necessary to lay this restraint on the Dutch as well as the Chinese [n], that the latter might have the less reason to complain.

After what manner the Dutch ships are treated on their entering the port.

They promised likewise that this regulation should be very tenderly executed, so as to give the Dutch very little

[m] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 207, 208, 209. Memoires de Dr. Garcin.

[n] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 199.

trouble;

trouble; in which it is ſaid the Japaneſe have been as good as their words; for, abating their particular cuſtoms, and the warmth with which they are attached to them, there is no nation in the world more juſt, more reaſonable, or even more civil to ſtrangers. The Dutch took advantage of this ſtroke of policy at Japan to make a new regulation of their own affairs, and a very wiſe one it was. They are ſenſible that people do not ſettle in the Indies to make obſervations in natural hiſtory, but to acquire fortunes; that men ſubmit to the hardſhips they endure for the ſake of purchaſing future eaſe; and that the navigation in the ſeas of Japan is commonly ſo perilous, that it is but reaſonable even the ordinary ſeamen ſhould find an extra-account in it. Upon theſe motives they have thus ſettled the commerce of Japan; goods, to the value of three hundred thouſand taels are ſent on the company's account; and the other eighty thouſand is allowed in private trade, in the following proportion; forty thouſand taels on the account of the governor-general and council at Batavia; ten thouſand on the account of the new chief, who goes on board the fleet; eight thouſand on account of the chief who is to come home; and twenty thouſand for the officers and ſeamen; ſo that every captain has eleven hundred taels on his own account, and every ſeaman twenty. If any of theſe people have not money to furniſh their ſhare of the cargo, it is either advanced on their wages, or they are allowed to diſpoſe of their right to ſuch as are richer than themſelves. Thus every man is intereſted in the branch of trade in which he is employed, and finds his private account in the punctual diſcharge of his duty °.

In deſpite of all difficulties and diſcouragements, this commerce is ſtill very lucrative and important.

After their ſales are over at their factory, and the wind is fair for their return home, they have their cannon, ſmall arms, ſails, anchors, and rigging, reſtored to them, and are directed to depart without delay; with which intimation they are obliged to comply. In their return they touch again, towards the end of the month of December, at the iſland of Poltimon, where formerly all the gold was put on board one ſhip, that proceeded immediately for Batavia, while the reſt continued their voyage to Malacca, where an aſſortment was made of the goods for the ſeveral markets of the Indies; but now the ſhips return to Batavia. It is allowed that the commerce to Japan is not near ſo conſiderable as it has been; and it is likewiſe true, that great loſſes are frequently ſuſtained therein; but, after

° Memoires de Dr. Garcin.

all,

all, it is still of great consequence; so that, on the best computation that can be made, it produces annually to the company better than five millions of guilders, or half a million sterling, exclusive of the great advantages that result from the distribution of the effects brought from Japan over all the Indies, which may perhaps amount to as much more. Then we are to consider farther the profit that arises in Europe upon the goods that are acquired in exchange for the commodities brought from Japan; and we are likewise to remember, that the Dutch have always in view the recovery of their former privileges, and even the exclusion of the Chinese [p].

SECT. XXV.

A succinct View of the Dutch Residentships throughout the Indies, at Cheribon in the Isle of Java, in the Kingdom of Siam, and at Mocha in Arabia.

The first chair of an independent resident is fixed at Cheribon, in the island of Java.

WE come now to the lowest rank of officers bearing supreme command in the Dutch settlements, and of these there are only three, who, notwithstanding they have no higher title than that of resident, which is also given to those in the direction of all their factories, yet these are quite independent, as being appointed by, and having recourse to, the general and council at Batavia, without the least dependence on any governor, director, or chief whatever. The first of these independent residents commands in the factory of Cheribon, on the coast of Java, at the distance of forty-eight leagues from Batavia, where the company carries on a very advantageous commerce in coffee, cardamoms, indigo, and cotton. The land is as fertile in rice, and other provisions, as perhaps any in the world. It is of considerable extent; and the people who inhabit it are under the dominion of four great lords, formerly styled pangerangs, that is, *princes*, but now soltâns; though their authority is not much extended in consequence of their new titles. There is one of them who is particularly called the company's soltân, because he is always attached to the Dutch interest. To say the truth, they might all four be very properly called so, since they

[p] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 895, 896. Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 380, 381.

are under her protection, and delivered from all apprehensions from the king of Bantam, who was continually at war with them; and would have undoubtedly reduced them long ago under his subjection, if the company had not assisted them, and driven the Bantamese out of their territories [q]. These princes have since that time, as well out of gratitude for favours past, as in expectation of protection for the time to come, granted the company great privileges in their dominions; among the rest, that of erecting a fort at Cheribon, where they have a garrison of sixty men, as well as a factory very well situated, and in perfect good order. About half a league from this fort are the tombs of the princes of Cheribon, in a vast temple erected for that purpose; they are three stories high, built of various kinds of fine stones. It is said that these tombs contain immense riches, which, though left unguarded, they are in no apprehension should be carried away, from a persuasion that they are protected in some supernatural manner; and report many instances of persons who have dropped down dead, on approaching the places where those riches are hid, with a thievish intention. There was formerly a very considerable English factory at Cheribon, with a little town annexed to it; but the persons belonging to the factory intriguing with the natives wives, as the Dutch say, this so provoked the people, that in one night's time they massacred them all, and destroyed the town [r]. It is not very improbable, if we could come at the truth of this story, that they were put upon this cruel action by some of their Christian neighbours, to whom the residence of the English in Java was an intolerable eye-sore.

An account of the precious birds-nests which are so much admired throughout the Indies.

Before we quit this place, it will perhaps afford some pleasure to the reader if we give him a distinct account of a certain curious merchandize for which Cheribon is particularly famous, and of which great quantities are sent from thence to Batavia. These are the famous Indian birds-nests, which are eaten in sauces and soups, and which are commonly ranked amongst the greatest delicacies of the table. The bird that builds these nests is a kind of swallow; her head, breast, and wings, of a shining beautiful blue, and the body milk white. This bird builds in mountainous and rocky places, fixing her nest, either by the side or by the bottom, to the solid stone. It is composed of a viscous substance, and, when thoroughly dry,

[q] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 211. [r] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, tom. ii. p. 128.

is

is in some measure transparent; the colour commonly white tinged with red, and now-and-then there are specks of purple at the bottom [s]. It is of an oval shape, about an inch deep, and something more than three inches in compass, weighing about half an ounce. Some naturalists have reported, that the bird forms them with a kind of glue discharged from its own craw; but it is now generally understood from a kind of froth or foam flowing from her own bill; that she brings the jelly out of sea-stars, and other fishes, and disposes it gradually in rings one above another, as is manifest to the eye. When these nests came to be considered as an Oriental luxury in food, they are a very valuable commodity; and vast quantities of them are consumed over all the Indies, but more especially in China, and the adjacent countries. They are, when properly seasoned with salt and spices, a very wholesome, nutritive, and delicious jelly, either boiled in soup, or eaten by themselves in the manner of a ragoût. These birds-nests are sold at Batavia for eight or ten shillings a pound [t].

The second resident charged with superintendence of the company's affairs in the kingdom of Siam.

Another resident has the direction of the company's affairs in the kingdom of Siam, and has an assistant or book-keeper under him. The company carry on a very considerable trade here in tin, lead, elephants teeth, gums, lack, wool, and other commodities. The king is a very formidable prince, his territories are near three hundred leagues in extent, and he encourages all nations to trade freely through his dominions. Ships, however, of any great burden, are obliged to come to an anchor at the distance of thirty-six leagues from his capital, because the river Menan, upon which it stands, is so rapid, that they could not warp up without great difficulty. This river, like the Nile, and many others in the Indies, overflows its banks at a certain season, so that for half the year the best part of the country is under water, and for this reason the houses are all built upon posts [u]. The Dutch have great privileges, and are considered as the most favoured nation ever since the great revolution, which happened at Siam a little after the departure of the French ambassadors; for the Dutch grew then into credit with the new king, because the English were entrusted with the best places in the government, civil and military, by his predecessor, whom he had murdered. It was not therefore consistent with his policy to have any great correspondence with a

[s] Voyage de Siam, p. 184. [t] Memoires de Dr. Garcin.
[u] Voyage de Siam, liv. vi.

nation that he knew was not well affected to his title. The favour he shewed the Dutch became a rule to his successors, and they have been very much caressed ever since [w]. They have a factory about a mile below the city of Siam, on the side of the river, which enables them to collect great quantities of deer-skins, which are annually sent to Japan; and this commerce, together with that of tin, which they have exclusively, and of which there is great abundance, makes the company take more pains to oblige the king of Siam than most of their neighbours. The Siamese themselves are much addicted to trade, and the Chinese who reside there much more, so that they annually send ships to Japan; a circumstance which, the difficulty of the navigation considered, is not a little extraordinary. They boast of having had the use of the compass above one thousand years before it was discovered in Europe; but the Jesuits have observed, that the compass with them, as with the Chinese, is very imperfect [x].

Mocha is the seat of the third resident in the East India company's service.

At Mocha, on the coast of Arabia, the third residency is fixed, where the resident is always a merchant, who has under him two book-keepers as assistants. This country is under the government of an Arab prince, who has the title of immaum, or *king*, and who resides at a place two hundred miles east from Mocha. The sea-port of his dominions was formerly Aden; but that being inconvenient, he removed it fifteen leagues farther to Mocha, which was then but a fishing-town. It is situated close to the sea, in a large, dry, sandy plain, that affords not either fruits or water, except what is so brackish and unwholsome, that such as are forced to drink it have long worms bred by it in their legs and feet, which are equally troublesome and dangerous [y]. They are supplied, however, with very good water from Mosa, at the distance of twenty miles, which coming by land-carriage, is as dear to the inhabitants as small beer is in England. The town of Mocha, notwithstanding this great inconvenience, is large, indifferently fortified, and makes a fine appearance from the sea. Their markets are well furnished with provisions, such as beef, mutton, lamb, and kid, camel and antelopes, flesh, common fowls, Guinea hens, partridges, and pigeons [z]. The sea affords variety of fish, but not well tasted, a circumstance which proceeds from the extreme saltness of the water, and the nature of their aliment. The

[w] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 804, 805. [x] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 197. [y] Geographie Moderne, par Abraham du Bois, p. 613. [z] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 41—43.

town

town is well furniſhed all the year round with good fruits, ſuch as grapes, peaches, apricots, and quinces, of which they make marmalade, both for their own uſe and exportation; though near the town there is not a tree or ſhrub to be ſeen, but a few date-trees, and they ſeldom have more than two or three ſhowers of rain in a year; and often no rain falls for two or three years together. But amongſt the mountains, about twenty miles off, ſeldom a morning paſſes without a moderate ſhower, which makes the vallies very fertile in fruit and corn, ſuch as the ſoil will bear; but they have no rice, though plenty of barley and wheat. Since the immaum made Mocha the chief port of his dominions, and a free port, it is become a place of great trade; for, beſides the Dutch factory, and one belonging to the Engliſh Eaſt India company, they trade with the Portugueſe, Banyans, and Moors; and veſſels from Baſſorah, Perſia, and Muſkat in Arabia Petræa. The country of itſelf produces few valuable commodities beſides coffee, and ſome drugs, ſuch as myrrh, olibanum, or frankincenſe from Coſſin, and aloes Soccotrina from Soccotra, liquid ſtorax, white and yellow arſenic, ſome gum arabic, and mummy, with ſome balm of Gilead that comes down the Red Sea [a] (L).

We

[a] Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p. 460, 461. Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 44, 45.

(L) During the ſeaſon, about one hundred veſſels, from different parts of the world, arrive at Mocha. The trade by land is alſo very conſiderable, which commences about three weeks before the ſhips come in, and continues for a month or five weeks after. This ariſes from the two caravans from Aleppo and Suez, which are rarely compoſed together of leſs than a thouſand camels; and which are never ſtyled rich, if the ready money they bring does not exceed two hundred thouſand pieces of eight in ſilver, and a hundred thouſand ducats in gold, which is to be underſtood barely of what is entered at the cuſtom-houſe, and which thoſe who are well verſed in ſuch kind of computations eſteem to be above one half of the ſpecie that comes in this way. Theſe caravans bring likewiſe vaſt quantities of velvets, ſattins, armoſeens, cloths of gold, camblets, fine cloths, ſaffron, mercury, vermillion, and other goods, as well of Europe as of the Levant (1). The royal veſſel, as it is called, from Suez, has its cargo compoſed of much the ſame kind of merchandize with

(1) Memoires de Dr. Garcin.

A succinct account of the coffee trade, as managed in that part, in a manner exclusively.

We may discern what a prodigious advantage arises from the possession of any single commodity, which either from art or nature derives a degree of excellence not to be attained any where else. The coffee-trade brings in a continual supply of silver and gold from Europe and Asia; for it is a point settled here, that, notwithstanding other goods and merchandize may be bought and sold on credit for a certain time, coffee is always bought for ready money [b]. The Europe shipping lade yearly at Mocha about twenty thousand tons, rather more than less; and the other nations about the same quantity. The whole province of Betlefackee is planted with coffee-trees, which are never suffered to grow above four or five feet high, and the bean or berry grows on the branches or twigs, first green, then red, at last a dark-brown colour. The berries cling to the branches like so many insects, and when they are ripe they shake off. The Dutch have here, as in most other places in the Indies, a great advantage over other nations, by their being possessed of the monopoly of spices, of which great quantities are consumed; and this consequently enables them to come at coffee at much easier rates than their neighbours: but this trade of theirs at Mocha is continually sinking on account of the vast quantities of coffee cultivated in their own colonies, especially at Batavia, Amboyna, and the Cape of Good

[b] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 701, 702. Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. ii. p. 422, 423. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 218.

the caravans, but is commonly richer in silver, as having rarely less on board than forty thousand pieces of eight; but this is not the case with respect to gold, of which that ship has rarely above fifty thousand ducats. All this is left behind; and in return they purchase some Arabian cloth, incense, myrrh, ambergrise, and perfumes of all sorts, precious stones, more especially pearls and cornelians, aloes, balm, cassia, dragons-blood, gum arabic, and other drugs; as also vast quantities of Indian goods that are brought from all parts, even China and Japan; to which we must also add coffee, as a very considerable article to these traders, as well as the most considerable one with respect to the Europeans, who bring likewise prodigious sums in specie, of which it is thought that the Dutch bring the least, on account of their spices, and some other commodities, which come here to a very good market (2).

(2) Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, vol. iii. p. 406.

Hope;

Hope; though there is, after all, no compariſon between the flavour of the coffee raiſed in their own plantations and that which is brought from Mocha [c].

Motives which have induced the Dutch Eaſt India company to ſlight all ſettlements in Borneo.

We have now run through the whole circle of the commerce carried on by the Dutch Eaſt India company in thoſe parts of the world where they have any eſtabliſhments; and it only remains to ſay ſomething of two places with which though they have ſome correſpondence, yet they have no ſettlement in either. The firſt of theſe is the great iſland of Borneo, which in point of extent is without queſtion the largeſt in the Indies, and, as many believe, in the known world. Some writers ſay that it is ſix hundred leagues in circumference; but the Dutch tell us that it is not quite ſo extenſive [d]. It is divided into abundance of little ſovereignties, of the princes of which the moſt powerful is the king of Banjaar Maſſeen, and after him the princes of Borneo and Sambas. The air of this iſland is reckoned very unwholeſome, an inconvenience occaſioned by the country's being low in ſome places, and marſhy. On this account it is but thinly peopled, though it abounds in very rich commodities. When the Dutch firſt ſettled in the Eaſt Indies, they were extremely ſolicitous about eſtabliſhing their factories in Borneo; and accordingly they fixed them at the city of that name, at Sambas, and at Succadano; but they ſoon found, by the repeated plunder of their ſettlements, and the maſſacre of all that were in them, that there was no ſuch thing as dealing with the inhabitants, who are certainly, if their relations be true, the baſeſt, cruelleſt, and moſt perfidious people in the world [e]. The Dutch therefore quitted the iſland; and, though invited thither ſeveral times ſince, have abſolutely refuſed to return; though they ſend ſhips occaſionally, and manage with great caution; but, for the moſt part, they leave that people to come and ſeek European commodities at Batavia, or to purchaſe them at ſecond-hand from the Chineſe who trade thither, and to Borneo alſo; their natural diffidence ſecuring them from this innate ſpirit of fraud and cruelty which reigns amongſt theſe treacherous iſlanders [f].

[c] See the article of Coffee in Dr. James's Dictionary, towards the beginning. [d] Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 357. [e] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 870, 871. [f] Memoires ſur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 20. L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, p. 219, 220.

Other European nations being of the same mind, the commerce is reverted to the Chinese.

There is not now any European settlement in the whole island, and yet the commerce of Borneo consists in as rich goods as any in all the Indies. At Samdas and Succadana they deal in diamonds, of which there is a mine in the heart of the country. These stones are generally from four to twenty-four carats, and there are some found of thirty and forty carats; but the whole trade does not amount to above six hundred carats in a year. They always sell these stones for gold, though that likewise is the commodity of the island, and though there is a very considerable trade for gold-dust carried on at Pahang, Saya, Calantan, Seribas, Catra, and Melanouha. Bezoar of the finest sort is another article in their trade, not at all inferior in its value to the former [g]. Sapan wood, fine wax, and several rich gums, are also met with there; but, after all, the staple commodity of the whole island is pepper, of which there is as much and as good as in almost any part of the Indies. Before the Portuguese discovered a passage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, the Chinese were in possession of all the trade of this island; and, since the Europeans have declined settling there, it is again, at least in a great measure, fallen into their hands. The places where they are settled, besides Banjaar Masseen, are Mampua, Teya, Lando, and Sambos, where they carry on a very extensive commerce, and furnish the inhabitants in return with silks, chintz, callicoes, and in short all the manufactures of China [h] and Japan.

It is however the prevailing opinion among judicious persons, that a settlement there would be very advantageous.

It has been suggested, and with great shew of reason, that a more valuable trade might be established in this island of Borneo than in any part of the East Indies, because there arrive annually large fleets of China junks laden with all the commodities of that empire, which might be purchased as cheap or cheaper than even in China. There come likewise annually from the island of Celebes small vessels, which, in spite of the vigilance of the Dutch, bring considerable quantities of cloves, nutmegs, and other spices; which is the true reason that the Dutch are not able to put off any great quantities of these goods in their traffick with the inhabitants: yet sometimes they send ships hither to load with pepper, and endeavour to keep up a good correspondence with the kings of Borneo and Sambas; for, as to the king of Banjaar, he has long ago declined having any thing to do with them. Some, who

[g] Memoires de Dr. Garcin. tom. ii. col. 871.

[h] Dictionaire de Commerce,

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are very well acquainted with the preſent ſtate of things in the Eaſt Indies, look upon the Dutch as very much obliged to the inhabitants of this great iſland for the care they take in maintaining the ancient reputation of their anceſtors for cruelty and perfidiouſneſs, but above all for their copying them exactly in preferring ſloth and eaſe above all things; ſince, with the aſſiſtance of common ſenſe, common honeſty, and common induſtry, they might make themſelves the greateſt, richeſt, and moſt reſpected, people in Aſia; there being good grounds to believe that there is full as much gold to be found here as in Sumatra; and ſtill better authority for attributing what themſelves ſay of their correſpondence with the inhabitants of the Celebes to their fear of the Dutch, the moſt intelligent perſons being perſuaded that the mace, nutmegs, and cloves, they ſell to the Chineſe, are actually the growth of their own iſland [1].

The Dutch formerly very ſolicitous, now very cool, about a correſpondence with China.

The other place, to which the Dutch company trades but little directly, is Canton, the only port in the empire of China where ſtrangers are allowed a free trade; and one would imagine the Dutch might have as much inclination, and to the full as much ability, to trade there, as any other people. We have ſeen that in former times they were very deſirous of a ſtrict and conſtant correſpondence with the inhabitants of that rich and great empire; and, ſo long as they were maſters of the iſland of Formoſa, they carried on a direct trade thither to very great profit. After the ſetting up of the Oſtend company, the Dutch did indeed ſend ſhips thither directly from Holland; but, whether the trade did not turn to account, or whether they were influenced by ſome other ſecret reaſons, it has been in a great meaſure diſcontinued.

Two probable motives for this alteration in their conduct.

That the Dutch do not affect any ſettlement in this empire, may be very well accounted for from the two following cauſes. The firſt is, that, being at ſo great a diſtance from Batavia, and in a country where it is eaſy to conſign their effects to Portugueſe, Engliſh, and other foreign merchants, the officers mind their own concerns more than the company's, of which a convincing proof has been had by the Portugueſe vending their pepper at a greater advantage than the Dutch, though they bought it at a high price at Batavia. But the ſecond cauſe is ſtill more important: there is a prodigious trade carried on by the

[1] L'Expedition de trois Vaiſſeaux, tom. ii. p. 221. Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 146, 147.

Chineſe

Chinese to Batavia, which, though it is a voyage of seven hundred leagues, the Chinese make in their junks in the space of six weeks, sailing from Canton in the beginning of December, and arriving in the middle of January [k]. The company, in the first place, have a duty of four per cent. on all the goods they bring, which are gold, silks of all sorts, tea, anniseed, musk, rhubarb, copper, quick-silver, vermillion, china-ware, &c. for which they receive in exchange lead, tin, pepper, incense, camphor, cloves, nutmegs, amber, and abundance of other things, on all which the Dutch set their own prices, and consequently buy much cheaper than other nations can purchase the same goods in China. They have also found by experience, that a direct trade between Holland and China lessens very much this more profitable commerce at Batavia. Neither is it there only that they have an opportunity of dealing with the Chinese, but in many other parts of the Indies, where, when the Chinese merchants have completed their sales to the natives, they are very glad to part with the remainder of their commodities, at a very easy rate, to the Dutch [l]. Thus it clearly appears, that the East India company are able to send home vast quantities of China goods, without carrying on a direct trade with that country either from Holland or Batavia.

SECT. XXVI.

An ample Detail of the Government gradually settled by the Company in the Indies, in respect to their Civil, Military, Commercial, and Ecclesiastical Establishments.

The form and method of the company's administration in the Indies, and in Europe, equally curious and important to the perfect knowledge of this subject.

WE are next to shew in what manner the government of the Indies is administered, and how the dependence is preserved between the supreme council, to which the ultimate direction of the company's affairs is confided, and that numerous train of officers honoured with such a variety of titles, vested with such different powers, and residing in places at so vast a distance as the coasts of the Red Sea, and the factory of Japan, are from the seat of government at Batavia. We have seen, from

[k] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 200, 201. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 222, 223. [l] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 239, 240.

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the hiſtory of this company, the ſteps by which it roſe, the prudence with which every fair opportunity was managed to the beſt advantage, the dexterity and addreſs with which imminent dangers were avoided, the great ſagacity, and manifold precautions, by which threatened miſchiefs were prevented, in conſequence of their being foreſeen; and hence the ſurprize at their acquiring ſo vaſt an empire, and in ſo ſhort a time, is taken away. But, when all this is done, there ſeems to be an equal ground for admiration left, how ſuch a dominion ſhould be maintained.

Of the two ſupreme councils at Batavia.

All the dominions which the company poſſeſſes in the Eaſt Indies are governed by two ſupreme councils, one ſtyled the council of the Indies, and the other the council of juſtice. They are both fixed in the city of Batavia, as the capital of their dominions. To the firſt of theſe councils belong all matters of government, and the direction of public affairs; and to the latter the adminiſtration of juſtice in all its branches. The governor-general preſides in the firſt council, which is compoſed of eighteen or twenty perſons, who are called counſellors in ordinary of the Indies. It very rarely happens that they are all at Batavia together, becauſe they are uſually provided with ſome or other of the ſeven governments which are in the company's diſpoſal. This council aſſembles regularly twice a week; and extraordinarily, as often as the governor-general pleaſes. They deliberate on all things that concern the intereſt of the company: they likewiſe ſuperintend the government of the iſle of Java, and whatever depends upon it. If the affair be of very great importance, the conſent of the directors of the company is likewiſe neceſſary. It is alſo from the council of the Indies that orders iſſue, and inſtructions are ſent, to other governments, which are implicitly obeyed. In this council all letters directed to the governor-general, or to the director, are read, debated, and anſwers agreed on by a plurality of voices [m].

Eſtabliſhment of the latter, its numbers, juriſdiction, and principal members.

The council of juſtice is compoſed of a preſident, who is uſually a counſellor of the Indies, eight counſellors of juſtice, a fiſcal, or attorney-general, for affairs of government, another fiſcal for maritime buſineſs, and a ſecretary. The preſident is, by his office, keeper of the great ſeal; on which is repreſented a great caſtle, in the midſt of which is Juſtice, with her ballance and ſword, with this

[m] Baſnage Deſcription Hiſtorique du Governement des Provinces-unies, cap. xxxvii.

inſcription

inscription round it, namely, "The Seal of the Council of Justice in the Citadel of Batavia." All the counsellors of this college are doctors of the civil law. The first attorney-general has a vote, as well as the other counsellors, and has the third of all fines under a hundred florins, and a sixth part of the fines above that sum. The duty of his office consists in taking care that the laws are strictly observed, and in preferring informations against such as break through them. The other attorney-general, or fiscal of the sea, takes the like care with regard to frauds committed in commerce, acts of piracy, or whatever has a tendency to disturb the settled rules in maritime affairs [n]. There are, besides these two sovereign boards, the council or tribunal of the city of Batavia, entrusted with the sole administration of this colony; which is composed of nine aldermen, including the president, who is always a counsellor of the Indies, and a vice-president; the bailiff of the city, and the commissary of the country adjacent, have likewise seats in that assembly, and, with the secretary, make up the board [o].

A kind of monarchical power established in the governor and captain-general of the Indies.

The governor general, as the head of the empire which the company has established in the East Indies, is in fact the stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral. He is, by his office, president of the council of the Indies, in which he has two votes. He has the key of all the magazines, and directs every thing relating to them, without being accountable to any body. He commands by his proper authority, and every body is bound to obey him; so that one might safely say, this authority equalled that of several kings in Europe, if he was not answerable to, and liable to be removed by, the directors of the company at home. In case, however, of treason, or any other enormous crime, the council of justice have a right to seize his person, and to call him to an account. When a governor-general is dead, or resigns his charge, the council of the Indies chuse another, by a plurality of voices. As soon as this is done, they write to the directors of the company at home, desiring them to confirm and approve of their choice: they likewise write for the same purpose to the States General, their High Mightinesses having reserved to themselves this power of confirming or excluding a governor-general, by their charter. It is usual, however, for the States, and for

[n] Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 354. 355, 356.

[o] Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par Nicholas de Graaf.

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the directors, to approve of the governor-general that is chosen, and to send him his letters patent, conformable to the desire of the council of the Indies [p].

Court and magnificence of this great officer.

The company allow their governor eight hundred rix-dollars a month, and five hundred more for his table and pay, beside the salaries of such as compose his household. But these appointments make but a very small part of his revenue, the legal emoluments of his office being so great, that, in the space of two or three years, he is able, without oppressing the people, or burdening his conscience, to raise an immense fortune. As he is in a manner sovereign of the dominions belonging to the company, it has been found requisite, in compliance with the mode of the eastern countries, to allow him a court, and most of those honours which are paid to crowned heads. Whenever he stirs out of his palace, to go to his country-seat, he is preceded by the master of his household, at the head of six gentlemen on horseback, with a trumpet; two halberdiers on horseback go immediately before his coach; on the right he has his master of the horse, at the head of six halberdiers, on horseback; then follow the other coaches, which carry his friends and retinue; and the whole is closed by a troop of horse, consisting of forty-eight men, commanded by a captain and three quarter-masters, and preceded by a trumpet, richly cloathed [q]. If this office be extremely considerable by its revenues, its power, and the honours annexed thereto, it is likewise extremely fatiguing. The governor-general is employed, from morning till night, in giving audience to such as have business with him, in reading letters, and giving orders for the company's service; so that he spares but one half hour for dinner, and even at table dispatches such affairs as are pressing [r]. He also receives all the Indian princes and their ambassadors who come to Batavia, and of these there are many that arrive every year, and are received according to a settled ceremonial.

The director general, the second officer in the company's service, the nature of his office.

After the governor, the director-general has the greatest authority, and is the second person in the council of the Indies. This employment demands likewise a great deal of care and attention, and he who is invested with it has the buying and selling all the commodities that enter into, or

[p] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 76, 77. [q] Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 359 [r] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 79. Voyage de Siam, p. 152, 153.

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go out of the company's magazines. He orders what sorts, and what quantity of each sort of goods shall be sent to Holland or elsewhere. He has the key of all the magazines, and every officer in the company's service makes a daily report to him of the state of every thing under his charge. In a word, he has the supreme management of whatever relates to the company's commerce, as well at Batavia as at other places; and the members of all the factories belonging to the company are accountable to him for their conduct in their respective stations. He has his set hours of business as well as the governor-general, when those who are under his inspection are to attend; and in both cases these are not forms, but rules which are not to be dispensed with; and it is by their strict adherence to these that all things are kept in such perfect order, and that the necessary business of the company does not swell by neglects into such a bulk as begets perplexity and confusion. Besides, the examples of these great officers have a powerful and general effect; some are ashamed, and all are afraid, to be less assiduous in their respective charges than those great men who are at the head of affairs [s].

Of the post of major.

The third person in the government is the major-general, who, under the governor, has the command of all the forces. The regular troops in the constant service of the company, even in time of peace, are in number about twelve thousand men, exclusive of their militia in their respective governments, which are kept in very good order, and under an exact discipline, amounting in the whole to at least one hundred thousand. The military establishment is much the same throughout the Indies as in the United Provinces; the troops in the company's service being as regularly paid, and well disciplined, as those in Holland. The first officer in command in time of peace has, strictly speaking, no higher rank than that of major, under whom are captains, lieutenants, and ensigns; but when the troops are in the field, the lieutenants and ensigns are at the head of companies, the captains lead brigades, and the major, acting as major-general, commands in chief [t].

[s] Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 363. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 79, 80.
[t] Basnage Description historique du Governement des Provinces-unies, chap. xxxvii. Journal du Voyage de Siam, par l'Abbé Choisy, p. 87.

The

The natives of the country are under their own officers, who are capable of rising to the rank of a captain, but no higher. The burgesses of Batavia choose also their own officers, as high as captains of horse and foot; they are under the command of a colonel, who is also one of the counsellors of the Indies, and at the same time president of the council of war. By virtue of these regulations all the company's settlements are kept in a constant state of defence at a far less charge, and without any of those inconveniences that must naturally attend the keeping in their service a number of officers with superior titles, the pay of whom, generally speaking, makes one third of our military establishments. At the same time care is taken that all the crops, as well of militia as of regular troops, are kept always complete and fit for service; so that on any emergency there is a constant force at hand, which may be relied upon, more especially considering, that in every settlement there is one or more good fortresses, thoroughly supplied, and in excellent repair, which consequently is in no danger of being taken before competent succours can be received from Batavia; and this disposition of things is one of the most essential points in the company's system of politics[u].

The state of the militia throughout the Dutch territories.

The maritime power of this potent society consists of about one hundred and eighty ships, from thirty to sixty guns, with about twelve or thirteen thousand officers and seamen in constant pay; and, in case of necessity, they are always able to equip, in a few weeks, at Batavia, forty sail of larger ships, which they could man without any difficulty. This great naval force is regulated on the same foot, and according to the same maxims, as the military establishment; that is, there are no officers wanting necessary to the preservation of good discipline, nor are there any honoured with high titles merely to secure large appointments, without any benefit to the state. The whole fleet is under the direction of one officer, who has the modest title of commander, or commodore; he has under him a vice-commander; and, besides these, there are no flag officers, but every captain has the command of his ship. When their vessels are in the harbour of Batavia, the captains are obliged to repair every morning to the commander, or commodore, in order to make report to him of the state of their vessels, and to receive his orders; yet even this commander does nothing of conse-

Of the maritime power of the company in the Indies.

[u] L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 81.

quence

quence without the consent and approbation of the governor-general, to whom in fact all the officers of the company, civil, military, and marine, are accountable; and whose authority in this respect is as absolute as the nature of his command, and the service in that distant part of the world requires, in order to prevent factious cabals or confederacies, which would be highly prejudicial to the service [w].

Of their ecclesiastical establishment.

The ecclesiastical government at Batavia consists generally of eleven persons, all ministers of the reformed, or presbyterian religion, five for the two Dutch churches in the city, and that in the citadel, besides the minister that resides in the island of Onroost, three Portuguese ministers, and two Malayans. The five last are Dutchmen by birth, as well as the former, though they preach in the Portuguese and Malayan tongues. And as it is necessary that the state should be well informed of whatever passes amongst their clergy when they meet together, the eleventh person is a deputy on the part of the government, who is to see that they preach or practise nothing prejudicial to the civil government, or inconsistent with those laws which the company has prescribed. Besides these ministers, the consistory is composed of eight elders and twenty deacons. One great branch of their business is to send ministers into other governments, where, after a certain term of years, they are relieved, and return to Batavia or to Holland, to enjoy in peace the fruits of their labours. Sometimes a preacher has been known to make so good use of his time, that, on his return, he has bought a noble fief, and, of a pastor, immediately became a man of quality [x].

Unity in religion one of the company's indispensable maxims of government.

In other little places they have no ordinary minister, but one is sent regularly every three or four years to baptize, marry, and give the Lord's Supper; which is so much the more necessary, because the synods have taken a resolution not to permit any religion but the reformed to make any progress in the dominions of the East India company. The Lutherans, for a long space of time, have warmly solicited for a church at Batavia, but have been constantly refused it, though certainly their demand was reasonable, especially in a place where Mohammedans

[w] Jan Çon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 364. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 111, 112, 113. [x] Basnage Description Historique du Gouvernement des Provinces-unies, chap. xxxvii. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 105, 106.

and

and Pagans are freely tolerated in their religion, and even the Chinese, who worship the devil himself. This ecclesiastical council have also dependent upon them the consolators of the sick, schoolmasters, and catechists. Of these last the company have a great many in their service on board their ships, whose duty it is to say prayers constantly every day, and to instruct such as embrace the Christian religion. These catechists are for the most part natives of the country; and as they speak several languages, they are better enabled to give the necessary instructions, and to teach the confession of faith to so many different nations, who, after being converted and baptized, are to receive the communion. For the better preservation of uniformity, there is an annual visitation, with great punctuality and decorum, made by the ministers amongst all the new converts, when they fail not to make strict enquiries, and to root out, as soon as possible, all new opinions [y].

The number of Christians in their Indies is very considerable, and daily increasing.

In consequence of these regulations, the reformed religion makes a great progress, especially among the Negroes, of whom hundreds at a time have demanded baptism; which, however, is not rashly granted, since all are obliged to be well instructed, and to be able to make their confession of faith, before it is bestowed; and in this particular the Dutch are so strict, that they do not dispense even with princes and princesses. It is well enough known, that the Chinese are so obstinately addicted to their great Confucius, as not to be over-ready to embrace any other religion; yet there are from time to time some of them who abjure their idolatry, and embrace the Protestant faith. In all the eight governments there are many schools erected and supported at the expence of the company; as for instance, there were near one hundred in the island of Ceylon in the year 1720; and it was then computed, that the company had three hundred eighty five thousand Christian subjects in that country only; but some of these were of the Romish communion, and consequently were not permitted the open exercise of their religion; and in Amboyna, and the adjacent islands, they have ninety thousand subjects, of which at least the third part, are Christians [z].

[y] Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf, p. 336, 337. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 109, 110. [z] Memoires de Dr. Garcin. L'Expedition de trois Vaisseaux, tom. ii. p. 110.

The chamber of orphans at Batavia.

At Batavia, and in all other governments, they have a chamber of accounts for orphans, in which there is a president, who has for his council half the company's servants, of the quality of copemen and upper copemen, and half of the best burghers, besides a secretary, and other assistants. They sit once a week, in order to manage or dispose of all estates belonging to orphans, or absent heirs.

If a person dies leaving a will, and does not give such a proportion of his estate to his children as the law requires, they will not allow the will, but require their full part for the children. If a man dies in the company's service, and they owe him wages, the chamber receives them, and enters the sum to the credit of the deceased. By these wise regulations, and by a strict adherence to them, the company has obtained great reputation [a].

In what manner provision is made for the poor.

The company, besides one third of their half of the fiscal's confiscation, allow also fines on offences, and the confiscations of the estates of men executed, for the use of the poor. There are many overseers and masters of the poor at Batavia. At Policat they have but two, and those not masters of orphans, but others. They have cognizance of all poor Christians under the government, whether they be Dutch, Portuguese, or others, and take care for their relief, by making collections in churches every Sunday, and distributions according to their necessities. The poor always have a considerable stock beforehand, which has been gathered from the confiscations of persons detected in private trade, and charitable gifts. This stock they let out to the company upon interest, which they constantly receive, and employ as is needful; and, though the interest of the stock be sufficient to maintain the poor, yet they never neglect the weekly collections in churches, to increase the stock as much as they can: for they say, it may so happen, that, by great wars and losses, many may be maimed, made widows and fatherless, and then the principal may not be enough to maintain them.

Excellence of these provisions.

There can be nothing better calculated for the safety and prosperity of the company than this provision for orphans, and such as become indigent; since it keeps up the spirits of all, from the knowlege they have that neither they, nor their children, shall ever want bread; and, at

[a] Basnage Description historique du Governement des Provinces-unies, chap. xxxvii.

the

the same time that it keeps them from being desperate, it retains them in their duty.

It will not be expected that we should enter into a particular detail of the company's officers and servants: suffice it to say, that all their regulations are founded upon justice, prudence, and humanity, and amount upon the whole to a complete system of legislature, œconomy, and subordination.

The Dutch flotillas from the Indies are as regular, and it may be of no less value, than those that come annually into the ports of Spain.

The season and circumstances of the homeward bound ships sailing from Batavia.

The East India company's ships usually sail from Batavia for Holland five times in a year. The first take their departure in the month of July; to the number of four or five sail, which touch in their passage at the island of Ceylon. The second squadron, of sixteen or twenty sail, begin their voyage constantly in the month of October. The third squadron, of six or seven vessels, sails in September; the fourth, which commonly consists of four or five, in January; and the last vessel in the month of March, but not till the Chinese fleet is arrived, which brings the tea; for of this the best part of the cargo of the homeward-bound vessel is composed; and therefore this is commonly called the tea-ship; but the common people call it the book-ship, because it brings the current account of the company for the year, by which they see the state of their trade in the Indies [b] (M.)

How the command is regulated of these squadrons, as also of single ships.

It is to be farther observed, that all these vessels, laden with the riches of so many countries, sail from the same

[b] Management of the Dutch in India, published by Mr. Lockyer.

(M) There is nothing that deserves more attention in this section than this circumstance, which we have mentioned more than once, that the Dutch East India company maintain an exact uniformity in their conduct at home and abroad; and, as far as it is practicable, decide and adjust every thing within the compass of the year. Some exceptions there may be, but these are few in number, and in their nature inevitable. As to what respects their general concerns, and the regular course of their policy and commerce, there is no kind of procrastination permitted; but, as the general accounts are annually made up in the Indies, so the servants of the company are immediately paid upon their return to Europe; and this readiness and punctuality is a prodigious benefit to the service, which indeed could very hardly, if at all, be carried on without it.

port of Batavia. The ſhips from Mocha, which bring home the coffee, are the only veſſels in the India company's ſervice allowed to proceed directly home, without going to Batavia at all. As to their admirals out of Europe, the flag is borne by turns; the Amſterdam ſquadron carries it three years, and the Zealand ſquadron every fourth year: the Amſterdam having two parts of the ſtock, the other leſſer chambers add theirs to it, and the Zealanders have one quarter of their own. The merchant who is ſent admiral muſt either take his paſſage in the Amſterdam or Zealand ſquadron. If a copeman or under-copeman goes from port to port in any ſhip, he has the command of her, and alſo of the fleet, or all ſhips in company, by the company's ſettled order in their articles. When there is a fleet together under the command of a commandore, the council is to conſiſt of copemen and ſkippers. When a ſhip is ſingle, the council is to be of copemen, ſkipper, under-copeman, book-keeper, and ſteerſman; and they are always to ſteer their courſe by the printed directions, and to ſet off their work every day upon charts, which are delivered up the very day on which they come to Batavia or Holland. There is an under-copeman or book-keeper in every ſhip, who keeps an account of the ſhip's expences, as ſtores, proviſions, and men's wages, in the nature of a purſer; and he is to ſee the proviſions ſo given out, that none be ſpoiled. Theſe take place as they are capable of preferment, in their factories, by their time of ſervice; and they are often taken out of factories when they are wanted, and others put in their places. If he that is upon a ſhip as a book-keeper be but an aſſiſtant, he takes place of the ſteerſmen, or next to the ſkipper [c].

Thoſe who are inveſted with authority on ſhore, have the direction of veſſels on the coaſts.

All chiefs of factories have free power to diſpoſe of their ſhips and men while they are under their chiefſhip, and as occaſion requires in the company's ſervice. They may take out men, ammunition, proviſions, and ſtores, though ſuch ſhips come there caſually through accident or neceſſity. Thus every thing relating to this ſubject is ſo fully and clearly regulated, that doubts or difficulties rarely ariſe. In their return to Holland they always make ſome ſtay at the Cape, as well to take in refreſhments, as to be informed of the company's orders that may concern any of the paſſengers on board; ſome of whom perhaps are ordered back, that their conduct may

[c] Voyage de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes, p. 364, 365, 366, 367.

be

be examined in the Indies; and to receive the news of the state of things in Europe, as, by the way, they carry gazettes, or news-papers, home with them, that contain the principal transactions in the Indies, of which we are now to take leave, and to conclude with a brief representation of the manner in which the company's affairs are conducted at home [d].

SECT. XXVII.

The domestic Œconomy of the Dutch East India Company. The immense Profits that have resulted to Holland from this Commerce. The Nature of Dividends and Transfers; concluding with some Observations and Remarks upon the foregoing Particulars.

Establishment of six chambers, and seventeen directors, in whom the supreme power and sovereign authority of the company are vested.

AT the time the original stock of the East India company was subscribed by men of property residing in different places, there were six chambers erected, one in each of the cities and great towns, from whence the subscriptions came; Middleburgh, on this account, being considered as the centre of commerce, for the province of Zealand; and from these six chambers the seventeen directors are deputed, called in the Dutch language bewinthebers, who are sometimes also styled the assembly or council of seventeen. They meet four times a year successively at Amsterdam, and twice at Middleburgh, but not at all in the other towns. These deputies are in some measure the sovereigns of this illustrious company, yet under the authority of the States General. These seventeen directors are chosen in the following manner; eight by the chamber of Amsterdam; four by that of Zealand; Delft, Rotterdam, Horn, and Enchuysen, send one for each; and the Maese, Middleburgh, and North Holland, choose one by turns. These seventeen directors govern the company, and represent the sovereignty of the whole body, the sentiments of which are determined by plurality of voices. They regulate all affairs of consequence, such as making counsellors of the Indies, captains, lieutenants, in land and sea-service, and equipping of ships, the

[d] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, p. 161. Memoires de Dr. Garcin.

sale of the goods, the division of profits; and all the particular chambers are obliged to conform to their orders. They likewise appoint the time for the sale of the goods, one half in the chamber of Amsterdam, a fourth in that of Middleburgh, and a sixteenth in each of the other four chambers, at the time by them assigned, to the highest bidder, by auction [e].

Besides these, there are directors settled in each of the chambers, for the management of their concerns.

But, besides these seventeen directors, each of the chambers has more belonging to the same body: thus Amsterdam has ten, exclusive of the eight sent to the sovereign court; and Haerlem, Leyden, Utrecht, Dort, and Tergoe, have each of them one there, as have the provinces of Guelderland, Friezeland, and Zealand likewise; besides, their four directors have eight or ten more from other towns of the province. All these deputies are to give their advice, in their respective chambers, for the benefit of the company; and when a deputy dies, the town to which he belongs names three others in his stead, out of which the magistrates choose one. This committee meets twice a week, and change their president each month; so that every one presides in his turn. There are two advocates belonging to the company, who transmit what is resolved upon to the Indies; upon which the officers of the company there form their resolutions, and issue their orders. There are eight deputies for the affairs of the marine, war, and building of ships; four to inspect their magazines, and the goods that are sent to and come from the Indies; four who are to take care of the money which the company pays and receives; and the rest are charged with the accounts, and other affairs relating to order and justice, which is done to the meanest mariner as well as to the greatest officers, and with equal expedition [f].

Obliged to render an account of the state of the company, and its transactions.

The whole, though it seems at first sight independent of the state, is, however, kept in great subordination by means of the wise regulations made in establishing the directors, and the care taken that not any two shall be related to each other; a caution which, in a very great measure, prevents combinations, and all those practices by which public establishments are converted into private jobs; and what ought to redound to the common benefit of a nation, conveyed into the pockets of a few private men. Once in three years the States General demand

[e] Traité General du Commerce, par Sam. Ricaud. p. 4. [f] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, chap. xiv. Memoires de Dr. Garcin.

and

and receive a strict account of the company's whole transactions, in order to be satisfied that they keep within the bounds of their charter; that they do justice to their proprietors; and that they manage their trade so as that it may not be prejudicial to the republic; which regulation may be justly esteemed the principal cause that hitherto the affairs of the company have been so perfectly well conducted [g].

Some modern alterations for the security of the proprietors and the benefit of the company.

In order to this examination or control of the company's accounts, the ancient practice was, for the States General to name a committee of their members to go to Amsterdam, and there examine the books of the East India company upon the spot; a visitation which took up a considerable time; and during that whole space this committee from the States had their charges defrayed by the company: but in the year 1728, they thought fit to make a representation to the States General, setting forth the inconveniences and unnecessary charge this method occasioned, praying, that their High Mightinesses would allow the company to send a deputation to the Hague, to lay their accounts before them; a favour which, after mature deliberation, was granted. Since that time another alteration has been made of much greater moment by the body of the proprietors, who insisted, that the supreme direction of their affairs in Europe and in India, should, by a solemn instrument, be transferred to his serene highness the prince of Orange, as stadtholder of the union, by which he has entrance into all the assemblies of the directors by his representatives, and consequently the power of looking into and regulating their proceedings; which indeed was the sole thing necessary to remove the inconveniences introduced by time, and to purge out such errors as had grown up imperceptibly, and for which no adequate remedy but this could have been provided.

Method observed in the management of their magazines, docks, workmen, and sailors.

The magazines of the company are kept in excellent order. Such as are entrusted with the care of them give large security, and are liable, besides, to severe punishment, in case they are guilty of any breach of trust. The same strictness is shewn to all degrees of persons in their service; nor are the directors themselves exempted, in whom the smallest fraud, would, if discovered, be punished with speedy and exemplary justice. This severity keeps

[g] Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 387.

up that spirit of care and diligence which is so absolutely requisite to the right management of commerce; and all the under-officers, moved by the example, as well as constrained by the inspection of their superiors, discharge their duty very exactly; so that the dock or yard in which their ships are built and repaired, is kept in as exact order as that of any private man, though there are seldom less than twelve hundred persons employed at a time. They do not, however, exert the same authority over the sailors and under-servants of the company that return from the Indies, but, on the contrary, allow them all the liberty they can desire, and suffer them to live in what manner, and at what expence they please; an indulgence granted from a principle of true policy, since it affords them the means of spending, in a short space, all that they have acquired in long service; so that, in five or six weeks, they are, generally speaking, reduced to their primitive state of indigence, and consequently are obliged to enter again into the company's service for a fresh term [h].

Thus the liberty of the subject is preserved entire, and the company nevertheless seldom wants a regular supply of able and seasoned seamen. The utmost care is taken that all employed in this service, both at home and abroad, shall be properly qualified for the stations in which they serve; and therefore it is a rule that none can enter into office before they have undergone a proper examination; and though there may be some instances where interest or favour may have procured dispensations in this respect, yet these occur but very seldom, and are not therefore of very great consequence [i].

A great change in the persons sent by the company to her settlements.

When the company first began to raise settlements, and establish colonies in the Indies, few people went thither but men of blasted characters, or ruined fortunes, that is, in lower stations: but in process of time the face of things entirely changed, and great solicitations are requisite to obtain even mean employments. All of them, from the highest to the lowest, are bestowed either by the council of seventeen, or by the particular chambers. The great posts, such as governor-general, the governments of Ceylon and the Cape, together with the places of counsellors of the Indies, are never conferred but upon such as have

[h] Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 389, chap. 14.

[i] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois,

deserved

deſerved them by long and faithful ſervices, and for the moſt part on the recommendation of the council at Batavia; but counſellors extraordinary, who, though they are allowed to give their opinions, yet have no votes, are often ſent out in that quality from Holland, as officers likewiſe are in all the inferior ſtations, but at large, and without particular appointments, that the council of the Indies may diſpoſe of them as the ſervice requires [k].

The prodigious riſe of the original ſtock of the Eaſt India company.

Upon the firſt erecting of the company the capital conſiſted of near ſix million and a half of florins, which was divided into actions of three thouſand florins each, or five hundred pounds Flemiſh; which appellation of actions they ſtill hold, though much altered in their value, in the ſame manner with our ſtocks, the title of which remains the ſame, whether the ſtock riſes or falls. As for the actions of the Eaſt India company, they have riſen a thouſand per cent. that is to ſay, an original action, which was ſubſcribed at three thouſand florins, has been actually ſold for thirty thouſand. The riſe and fall of theſe actions, like that of our ſtocks, depends partly on the real value, compared with the ordinary intereſt of money, partly upon the circumſtances of affairs in Europe in general, and of the republic of the United Provinces in particular. As for inſtance, before the breaking out of the war in 1672, the actions of the Dutch Eaſt India company were ſold at ſix hundred and fifty per cent.; yet during that war they fell to two hundred and fifty, and roſe again after the peace. But whatever the price of actions may be, a principal director muſt have two in his own poſſeſſion to qualify him for that poſt; and none are capable of a vote in an election who are not poſſeſſed of one whole action at leaſt. The ſalaries of the directors vary according to the chambers to which they belong. Thoſe eighteen that are choſen by the city of Amſterdam have three thouſand florins a year; yet there are others that have but twelve hundred, but theſe may be choſen if they have no more than two actions [l].

Method of buying and ſelling this ſtock.

The manner of buying and ſelling Eaſt India ſtock is very eaſy and expeditious. When the parties have ſettled the price between themſelves, they go together to the India Houſe, where the ſeller applies himſelf to the clerk of the book, in which his ſtock is entered, and deſires him to

[k] Gronden en Maximen van de Republick van Holland, 1 deel, cap. xvi. Baſnage Deſcr. Hiſtor. du Gouvernement des Povinces-unies, chap. xxxvii. [l] Traité General du Commerce, par Samuel Ricaud, p. 6.

transfer

transfer so much from his account to that of the buyer; which being done, he signs it, and afterwards signs a receipt for the purchase-money; and, the whole transaction being performed in the presence of a director, he signs the book likewise; so that there is not so much as a possibility of any fraud being committed; yet the whole expence of this transfer amounts to no more than seven shillings and six pence of our money, upon one whole action of three thousand florins, and in the same proportion for all smaller sums, and the brokerage upon an action comes but to twelve shillings. The directors, who have the sole management of the company's concerns, settle not only the times, but the quantities and qualities, of the company's goods that are to be exposed in their sales; from the produce of which their dividends are paid, and are high and low, according to the profits made by the company. This, however, must be understood with some restriction; for certain it is, that from the first establishment, they have never divided to the full extent of their profits, and for very good reasons; because long wars, and other chargeable expeditions must be defrayed out of this reserved stock, to prevent a great and apparent decrease in their dividends, which would necessarily occasion a very great fall of their actions. Besides, they have constantly paid the state very large sums, for renewing their charters, and for such other acts of state, as they have procured from time to time in their favour. It has been found also requisite for them to keep large sums in bank, to answer the exigencies of the state, as well as the company, in times of great difficulty and danger. Add to all this, that they have reserved vast quantities of spices, and other rich commodities, that their sales might not lower the price of them too much; and, upon this principle, they sometimes burn great quantities of spices. They formerly had recourse to another method, for the benefit of their proprietors, which was paying their dividends in cloves, mace, and nutmegs, at a very low price, by which those who receive them gained very considerable advantages [m] (M).

CHAP.

[m] Basnage Description Historique du Gouvernement des Provinces-un. chap. xxxvii. Traité gen. du Com. par S. Ricaud, p. 6.

(M) It would be a very difficult, if not impracticable, undertaking, to aim at the computation not only of the entire value of the commerce of the East India company, but even of any single branch, otherwise than by the help of their dividends,

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Commerce, Colonies, and Companies, which the Danes have heretofore maintained, or ſtill ſupport in the Eaſt Indies.

SECT. I.

Character of the Daniſh Nation; their ancient Turn to Navigation and naval Expeditions; their Share in the Holy War; the Time when an ardent Deſire of making Diſcoveries, and opening new Branches of Trade, revived amongſt them. Account of the famous Empire of Biſnagar in Indoſtan, and the Circumſtances which facilitated their ſettling at Tanjour.

The genius of the ancient Danes, and their maritime expeditions and conqueſts.

AS far as we can penetrate through that miſt of fabulous inventions in which the ancient hiſtory of the northern nations is enveloped, the Danes have been from the moſt early times equally diſtinguiſhed by their martial temper,

dends, and in the manner ſuggeſted in the text; which, however, cannot lead us to any competent notion of the groſs amount of their annual returns from the Indies; though ſome have ventured to fix this, one year with another, at ſixteen millions of guilders. But, in reſpect to theſe, we may help our conceptions a little, by reflecting how great a ſhare the Dutch Eaſt India company ſtill retain of this commerce, in all its branches, notwithſtanding the prodigious efforts that have been made, more eſpecially within a century paſt, in favour of other nations. As to the ſpice trade, pepper excepted, they are poſſeſſed of the monopoly, and were never ſo thoroughly or ſo ſecurely ſettled therein as at preſent, and while they retain this, they can never fail of being maſters in the Indies; that is, of trading more largely, and upon better terms, than their neighbours. They hold alſo their monopoly of the trade of Japan, and enjoy the mines of Liguor, from whence they derive ſtill farther advantages of the ſame kind. They draw prodigious quantities of valuable commodities and manufactures out of their own dominions, which they annually bring home to Europe, and which they are conſtantly improving in quality, and augmenting in quantity; the conſequences of which, if we duly weigh, will ſufficiently convince

temper, and addicted to maritime expeditions [n]. The conquests they gained over their neighbours served only to excite in them an ambition of undertaking greater things, and carrying the terror of their arms into countries more remote. The British isles, after being long harrassed by their incursions, became at length for a time a part of their dominions. They erected in France the noble duchy of Normandy; and, from thence extending their naval incursions, fixed themselves in Naples, which they subdued, and from thence sent their vessels to cruise upon the coasts of Asia [o]. These are facts that may be proved from history; but whether before these exploits, they, or any colony of their's, had found a passage, which is now lost, from Iceland to Japan, as some have imagined, is a point that we cannot take upon us to decide.

Their exploits in the holy wars, which are supposed to have given rise to the order of the Elephant.

In the wars that were carried on by the Christian princes for the recovery of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Mohammedans, the Danes had a large share; and their private memoirs, as well as public histories, have preserved many particulars which do honour to the memories of those generous heroes, who, from perhaps a mistaken principle of piety, signalized their courage in those distant countries, and spread the fame of their nation to the utmost limits of the East [p]. It is with a view to perpetuate the renown of these great and gallant actions, as some of their ablest antiquaries assert, that the order of the Elephant was erected, which is still the most distinguished mark of royal favour the kings of Denmark bestow upon their subjects [q]. We

[n] Strabonis Geograph. lib. vii. Hertzholmius Præcellent. Regn. Dan. & Norv. p. 95. [o] Eginhardius in Vita Caroli Magni. Albertus Stadensis in Annal. Dan. Olaus Wormius ad calcem, lib. vi. Monument. Danicorum. [p] Pontanus Hist. Dan. lib. vii. p. 475. Saxo-Grammat. lib. xii. p. 223. Snorro Sturlesonius in Chron. Norv. p. 436. [q] Hertzholmius in Breviario Equestri, cap. ix. sect. 1.

vince us, that their profits must be much larger than those of other nations who trade to the East Indies; and that therefore, though they are not the least jealous, yet they are the least like to be hurt by new establishments, and have the greatest security of being able to carry on this commerce, for ages to come, with prodigious profit, notwithstanding all the attempts that may be made to interfere with them; because it is not easy to foresee that they can be ever in danger of losing the superior advantages before mentioned, and many others that might be enumerated (1).

(1) Janiçon Etat present de la Republiq. des Provinces-un. chap. 12.

may

may from theſe circumſtances, with a reaſonable degree of certainty, collect, that whatever leſſer alterations might be made in the policy, or in the diſpoſitions of the Danes, they ſtill continue to cheriſh, through a long courſe of ages, that noble ardour which had been ſo conſpicuous in their anceſtors, and which had ſpread the trophies of their victories into regions ſo far removed from their own.

By this martial ſpirit, and the loſſes which attended it, the crown of Denmark declined in power.

But this conduct, and theſe expeditions, how much ſoever they might ſerve to raiſe the glory, contributed not a little to weaken the ſtrength, of this nation; ſo that in ſucceeding times we find her ſtruggling hard to preſerve thoſe ancient prerogatives which ſhe challenged as being the firſt of the northern crowns, and of which ſhe was gradually deprived through the long wars that were brought upon her by the ill conduct of ſome of her monarchs. Amongſt theſe Chriſtiern II. was the moſt remarkable, who, from being poſſeſſed of the three crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, fell firſt into the condition of a private man, fled next into the Low Countries as an exile; and at length, finding all endeavours to recover his former dignity vain, yielded himſelf a priſoner, in which ſad ſtate he continued to his death [r]. By his depoſition the crowns of Denmark and Norway came to Frederick duke of Holſtein, whoſe great-grandſon Chriſtiern IV. being a prince of ſingular abilities, and having a ſtrong deſire to promote the welfare of his ſubjects, willingly liſtened to whatever propoſals were made for promoting induſtry, erecting manufactures, and extending commerce; which laudable ſpirit, to ſpeak impartially, ſeemed to prevail in an extraordinary degree about the beginning of the ſeventeenth century throughout all Europe [s].

Chriſtiern IV. the firſt Daniſh monarch who applied himſelf to the promoting commerce and diſcoveries.

Of all the ſchemes that were offered to this intelligent prince, he was moſt pleaſed with that for opening a trade between his own dominions and the Indies, from which though ſome endeavoured to diſſuade him, by ſuggeſting that the paſſage was long and hazardous; that the Portugueſe were already in poſſeſſion; and that though the Engliſh and Dutch had made ſome voyages into thoſe parts, yet the returns they had hitherto received were rather of honour than profit [t]. That prudent prince eaſily diſcerned, that the firſt of theſe fallacious arguments might be urged againſt any other branch of trade as well as this;

[r] Johannis Magni Gothorum Suecorumque Hiſt. lib. xxiv. Thuan. Hiſt. ſui temporis, lib. i. xxii. [s] Eſſai ſur la Marine et ſur le Commerce, p. 159, 160, 161. [t] Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 19, & ſeq.

and

and that to accustom his subjects to long voyages was the most effectual method of rendering them less hazardous, since, without skill, men will be always in danger at sea, and the knowlege of the mariner can only be acquired by practice. He knew that the Portuguese had overstrained their power in the East, and that strangers were never more welcome than at this juncture. As to the English and Dutch, he was well acquainted with their exploits; and thought that it was high time his subjects should distinguish themselves in the like manner. Upon these motives, therefore, which were equally solid and honourable, he took a resolution to countenance those who were inclined to hazard their private fortunes in an undertaking, that, if it succeeded, must necessarily tend to the public benefit. He rightly foresaw the consequences that must follow the establishment of such a trade, which, if it failed, would occasion but a small loss; and that, by being divided amongst many, would fall the lighter; but if it should have a favourable issue, would employ a multitude of hands, increase their shipping, and encourage a commercial spirit amongst his subjects. The loss therefore seeming to be but a trifle in comparison to the gain, and probability being on the side of the former rather than the latter, he vigorously supported, on reflection, a proposal, which, from inclination, he had first encouraged.

An account of the Danish East India company, and of their first expedition.

About the year 1612 those who had associated themselves at Copenhagen for carrying on the trade of the East Indies received the sanction of royal authority; and, having divided their capital into two hundred and fifty shares, of a thousand rix-dollars each, began to make the necessary preparations for equipping and sending a squadron to the East Indies [u]. As the success of their project depended in a great measure upon the issue of their first adventure, they were more solicitous to have every thing in good order, than to run any considerable hazard for the sake of expedition. There were at that time seamen, who had visited the Indies in some service or other, easy to be met with in the northern ports, and of these they collected as many as they could. They likewise took care to study thoroughly whatever had been published in Italy, Spain, Portugal, England, or the Low Countries, in reference to this subject. Having from thence formed the best plan they could of the commerce of the Indies, they gave ample instructions to those who were intrusted with the manage-

[u] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 754.

ment

ment of their affairs; and particularly recommended to them obtaining a settlement by fair means, and for a reasonable consideration; keeping always on good terms with the natives, and avoiding as far as possible any disputes with the subjects of those European powers that they might find engaged in projects of a like kind. With these injunctions, fortified by the king's commission, the officers intrusted with the company's ships departed from the island of Zealand, and reached the East Indies in 1616 [w]. But, before we come to speak of their proceedings, it will be expedient to give the reader a short account of the state the country was in where they first traded, and where they afterwards settled, at the time of their arrival; that it may appear how far they complied with their orders, and on what terms they established their colony where it still remains, and of which they had been ever since in possession, though not without disturbance and danger, or without their having their full share of those difficulties with which all the Europeans, who have visited those distant climates, have sooner or later been oppressed. We do not find that any umbrage was taken at this step of the Danish court; for in those days none of those refinements on the rights of distant navigation, which have so much perplexed the moderns, and are become a distinct branch of politics, were so much as known; for all starting together, as it were, for this prize, they were more intent upon obtaining it, than on finding arguments to give the colour of an exclusive title, when it should be obtained.

The grandeur of the famous empire of Bisnagar, before it was ruined by intestine commotions.

At the time the Europeans first opened a passage to the Indies by sea, the great peninsula without the Ganges was most of it subject to the emperor of Bisnagar, whose dominions extended from the frontiers of the kingdom of Oriza, to Cape Commorin [x]. The reason that we find so little mention made of this most potent monarch in the relations of the Portuguese, arises from hence, that his territories were limited by the mountains which run parallel in a manner to the sea-coasts of Malabar, where they first established themselves, and where the principal potentate was the samorin or king of Calicut [y]. While the Portuguese were extending their power, the vast empire of Bisnagar was crumbling to pieces through its own weight. The first monarchs of that mighty state had acquired their power by

[w] Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 31. Voyages des Indes, tom. iii. lib. i. chap 18.

[x] Tavernier

[y] Maffæi Hist. Indic. lib. iv. cap. 7. lib. vii. cap. 9.

the

the exercise of their virtues; in time of war they were at the head of their own armies; in times of peace they directed their own councils, visited their dominions annually, and rendered justice to all their subjects with the utmost punctuality; but prosperity, dangerous to all human establishments, proved fatal to this empire. From delighting in great actions, the emperors of Bisnagar became fond of swelling titles: king of kings, and the husband of a thousand wives, were the first of a long catalogue of whimsical epithets, at once very pompous and very insignificant [z]. By degrees their vanity rose to such a height, and their flatterers prevailed so far, that they conceited themselves to be more than men, appeared rarely in public, affected divine honours; and left the care of their dominions to the great officers of state, and to the governors of provinces, thus paving the way to their own destruction.

What sovereignties arose out of the ruins of this overgrown monarchy.

The Pattanneers, a Tartar nation, invaded the north-east provinces of the empire; the generals of the Mogul attacked the north-west [a]. The governors, being necessarily at the head of armies, laid hold of this opportunity to render themselves independent, and some assumed the title of kings; as for instance, those of Visapour and Golconda [b]; but those in the southern provinces, though they also rendered themselves independent sovereigns, contented their ambition that way, and retained their old title of naïck. Amongst these the three most considerable were those of Madura, Tanjour, and Gingi. Madura is of great extent, reaching from Cape Commorin along the coast of Coromandel, opposite to the island of Ceylon, and very far within land. Tanjour is of smaller compass, bounded on the south and on the west by Madura, on the east by the sea, and on the north by the province of Gingi, from which it is separated by the river of Coloran. Tanjour, which is the capital of this principality, lies in the north-west corner of the country, is a city of considerable extent, tolerably well built, and has a good inland trade. As for maritime places, the naïck had two that were pretty considerable on the coast of Malabar, which were Negapatan and Tranquebar. In 1597, the Portuguese were settled at the former, so much to the satisfaction to the naïck, that he was desirous they should likewise erect a church at the latter; which about that time they did, and the Jesuits took pos-

[z] Purchas's Pilgrims, tom. ii. p. 1746. [a] Voyages de Thevenot aux Indes Orientales, tom. v. p. 290. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, tom. xv. [b] Tavernier Voyages des Indes, tom. iii. liv. i. chap. 18.

session

session of it, made a considerable number of converts among the natives, and brought several of their countrymen to settle there likewise on the score of commerce; this was the condition in which the Danes found that country when they came first to trade upon the coast of Coromandel.

In what manner, and at what time, the Danes first settled in the dominions of Tanjour.

The Danes, at their first meeting, seem to have been very well received by the natives; and, finding the place more commodious for traffick than any other, where they could with any probability expect a settlement, they began to make propositions to the naïck, for his permission to seat themselves in his dominions, which were favourably accepted; and in all probability they were rather assisted than opposed therein by the Portuguese, who were desirous of having some fortress in this neighbourhood, that might in a time of danger afford them protection [b]. In the space of five years, when the disposition and customs of these Europeans were better known, the naïck of Tanjour entered into an agreement with them for this port, and a certain district round it, which he sold, or rather farmed to them, at the annual rent of two thousand pardoes, or perdous, which is still regularly paid; and in 1621, they built a fortress after the European manner, for the defence of the port, and of the town that was erected under it [c]. This is the best account that we are able to give of the first establishment of the Danes upon this coast, which was suitable enough to the views of the company, and became gradually of much greater importance [d]. It might have been much sooner improved, if their thoughts had not been drawn away by an object of much greater consequence; and of which, though they never availed themselves in any degree, yet it may be both useful and entertaining to the reader to meet with a short account of it here, because it is rarely mentioned in descriptions of the Indies.

[b] Commerce de Danuois aux Indes, p. 25. [c] Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 67. [d] Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. ii. p. 101.

SECT. II.

A Negotiation between the Monarch of Ceylon and the Court of Copenhagen; the Fortress of Tranquebar erected, and the favourable Aspect of Things in regard to the Affairs of the first Danish Company. Change of Circumstances in the Indies, and unfavourable Events in Europe, exhaust the Funds, and wound the Credit of the Company, abroad and at home.

Marcellus van Boschhower is sent by the Dutch to negotiate with the monarch of Ceylon.

WE have in the foregoing sections given a large and copious detail of the conquest of the island of Ceylon from the Portuguese by the Dutch, but have barely touched on a certain negotiation which preceded that war, as having it in our intention to explain that matter more fully here, as it gave an opening for the Danes to have possessed themselves of that island, and which they were not backward in embracing, though, by the premature death of the author of this project, it proved altogether abortive [e]. When the Dutch concluded, in 1609, a truce with the crown of Spain, after a long war, by which both parties were almost exhausted, the States and the prince of Orange both thought proper to write to the king or emperor of Ceylon, in order to give him notice of this temporary peace, by which they were left at full liberty to prosecute their commerce in the Indies. These letters were sent by the squadron that carried over Peter Both, in quality of governor-general; and, upon their arrival at Bantam, a vessel called the Black Lion was prepared for Marcellus van Boschhower, who was in no higher post than that of an under-merchant, to proceed with these letters, and full powers, to Ceylon. When he arrived in that island, he was received with much respect and esteem by Cenuwieraat Adascyn, who, by the marriage of the widow empress, was in possession of the throne; to whom he presented letters, and with whom he concluded a treaty, which was confirmed by the Dutch governor and his council [f]. He would then have quitted the island; but both the emperor and the empress were so well pleased with him, and entertained so high an opinion of his abilities,

[e] Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 66. [f] Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par l'Abbé le Grand, p. 56, 57.

and

and zeal for their service, that they laboured to retain him by the offer of very great preferments [g].

He is created by that potentate prince of Mignonne, and sent to negotiate for him in Europe.

Foreigners seldom continue long in favour, especially in absolute governments, and therefore the fortune of Marcellus was the more singular. The monarch of Ceylon bestowed upon him the principality of Mignonne, by which, saving his homage, he became a sovereign, having espoused a lady of the first quality, and having with her in dowry a fair country, with a considerable revenue, and some thousands of subjects [h]. He was also promoted to the highest commands, sometimes at the head of armies, having at others the direction of fleets, with the title of admiral; neither did he ever lose, but on the contrary increased his credit, so long as he remained in the island. At length, finding the Dutch administration in the Indies either unable or unwilling to perform the treaty they had made, though the Portuguese had cut off all the Dutchmen he had brought with him to Ceylon, in violation of the truce, he prevailed upon the emperor to send him, with the title of his ambassador, into Europe. His credentials were directed to the States General; but, besides these, he had, in case his applications to them should fail, full power to treat with any other European potentate who should be disposed to assist the emperor of Ceylon in recovering his dominions from the Portuguese, upon such terms as he should think just and equitable. He sailed from Ceylon, May the 9th, 1615, for the port of Masulipatan, where he addressed himself to the Dutch director, and at his request went from thence to Bantam; where, finding the governor-general Gerard Reynst dead, and affairs in some confusion, he obtained leave from the council to pursue his instructions, and to return to Holland, that he might represent to their High Mightinesses, and the prince of Orange, the true state of affairs in the island of Ceylon, and explain what assistance might be necessary to procure them a free commerce; a commission which it was supposed would be highly acceptable in a country where the importance of the cinnamon trade was well understood, and the government consequently perfectly well disposed [i].

But these hopes proved altogether fallacious; for, when Marcellus van Boschhower came to Holland with his lady, they expected to be treated as the prince and princess of

[g] Bald. Hist. Ceylon, cap. xi. par l'Abbé le Grand, p. 57.

[h] Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon,

[i] Bald. Hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii.

His negotiation in Holland proving unsuccessful, he resolves to have recourse to some other power.

Mignonne, living in a manner suitable to their title, and disdaining to be considered in any other light [k]. The directors of the East India company, who had sent out Mr. Boschhower as an under-copeman, could not be brought to comprehend any thing of his being a prince, a circumstance which quickly occasioned a breach in the negotiation, and induced the emperor of Ceylon's plenipotentiary to think of carrying his credentials some where else. After mature reflection on the state of things in other countries, he determined to proceed to Denmark, which was very probably occasioned by his receiving intelligence of the king's attention to the commerce of his subjects in general, and to that of the East Indies in particular. Some have thought that this scheme was incompatible with his allegiance to their High Mightinesses; but it is very apparent that he considered himself as the subject and privy-counsellor of the monarch of Ceylon; and, if he was received and treated as such in Holland, he was certainly at liberty when his proposals were rejected to pursue the other points in his instructions [l]. To say the truth, it looks as if things had been considered in that light by the States General, who might, if they had thought it proper, have hindered his leaving their territories, or have obliged him to return in one of the company's ships to the East Indies.

In this disposition he proceeds to Copenhagen, and concludes a treaty there.

He arrived at Copenhagen, July 16th, 1617, and was received there in a manner suitable to his pretensions. While he resided in this capital, the princess of Mignonne was brought to bed of a son, to whom his Danish majesty was godfather. His propositions were favourably accepted by the company, who entered into a negotiation with him; and a treaty being concluded between them, it was ratified and confirmed in the succeeding year by king Christiern IV. He granted him also a man of war, called the Elephant, to carry him, his family and retinue, back to Ceylon. The company likewise added some ships of theirs; and the whole squadron was under the command of a Danish nobleman, whose name was Owen Giedde de Tommerup [m]. He sailed with this squadron from Copenhagen, March 30th, 1691, and anchored at the Cape of Good Hope, July 19th, the same year, from whence he proceeded for Ceylon; but meeting with very bad weather, numbers died in the passage, and, amongst the rest,

[k] Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 33. [l] Memoires touchant les Ambassadeurs et les Ministres publiques, p. 47, 48, 49.
[m] Gesta et Vestiga Danorum in Oriente, p. 66.

the

the prince of Mignonne [n]. On the arrival of the Danish commodore in the harbour of Trinquemale, he sent advice to the emperor, who, the Dutch writers say, disavowed the treaty, because, perhaps, he thought the succours insufficient, and too hasty a demand was made for the expences of the fleet. However this might be, the Danish commodore is said to have seized all the prince's effects, and to have set his widow on shore in a very distressed condition, a report which may, notwithstanding, admit of some doubt, since, after remaining seven years at the emperor of Ceylon's court, she thought fit to go to Tranquebar, and there ended her days. As soon as the princess was landed, the Danish commodore proceeded for the coast of Coromandel, where he made a treaty with the naïck of Tanjour, and left the forces that should have been disembarked at Ceylon to garrison the fort that was erecting at Tranquebar, and on which he bestowed the name of Danebourg. In his return he anchored again in Table Bay, under the Cape of Good Hope, August 30th, 1621, and returned safe in the beginning of the succeeding year to Copenhagen [o].

The town of Tranquebar, and the fortress of Danebourg acquired by the East India company.

When the fortress was in a state of defence, and the Indians began to erect houses, or rather huts, under its protection, Tranquebar soon changed its appearance, and from being a place very little considered, and of which scarce any notice was taken, grew into great reputation. Those who had the direction of the company's affairs treated the natives, whether of the Portuguese stock, Moors, or Gentoos, with justice and lenity; received ships that came to trade with all imaginable readiness, and put them under none of those restraints to which they were subjected elsewhere. By these present methods the colony augmented in the space of a few years, not only to the utmost of their expectations, but beyond even their most sanguine wishes [p]. This prosperity induced them to think of establishing factories upon the oppposite coast of Malabar, for the sake of obtaining a share in the pepper trade, of fixing factories in other places, and of sending their ships to the remotest parts of the Indies. The Danes, therefore, had very little reason to treat the memory of the prince of Mignonne with disregard, or to complain that they were seduced by his promises of mountains of

[n] Bald Hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii. [o] Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 66. [p] Floris's Observations on the Commerce of the Indies.

gold to navigate distant seas, where they could meet with no such thing [q]; for, whatever benefit they reap from the settlement of Tranquebar, whatever they drew in process of time from the rest of the Indies; and whatever advantages have attended, or may attend the revival and extension of this commerce, ought in a great measure to be ascribed to that unfortunate great man, whose project produced such an armament as rendered their first feeble endeavours effectual, from whence all the rest has flowed as from its proper source.

As far as we can judge from our materials, this company continued some time in a thriving condition.

It must be allowed, that our materials for the history of this commerce are very scanty; and that we are obliged to collect and range, in the best order we can, such passages as occur in authors of other nations, that speak incidentally of the traffick of the Danes, and not always with so much candour as we could wish. In spite, however, of these obstacles, we may venture to affirm, that in twenty years the ships of the Danish East India company had opened a trade with the Moluccas, which enabled their directors at Tranquebar to send home large vessels richly laden, with cargoes well assorted, from all parts of the Indies; so that during the reign of Christiern IV. this commerce might be justly said to flourish in as high a degree as that of any other nation in the same space of time, the Portuguese and Dutch only excepted; and if we consider the difference of circumstances in regard to those nations and the Danes, we cannot but look on this as very extraordinary, and affording a proof that justice, industry, and an indefatigable application, will improve even a very small stock into a fund sufficient to answer the greatest purposes [r].

But those circumstances that had been favourable to them, changing, their situation alters.

Those, however, who pique themselves upon penetrating to the bottom of things, may possibly discern, that within these first twenty years there were many accidents happened in the Indies very favourable to the Danish colony, and to the views of those that were employed by the company at Copenhagen. The Portuguese, still under the subjection of Spain, were struggling with a foreign war, and domestic difficulties. The Spaniards rarely sent any ships beyond the streights of Malacca, the Dutch were fully occupied in obtaining the monopoly of spices, and the English felt the weight of discord at home, even at so vast a distance. On the whole, therefore, the Danes met with little or no opposition from any of these nations, not-

[q] Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 66.

[r] Ibid.

with-

withstanding that the ruin of their commerce was looked upon as the joint interest of all. On the contrary, having nothing to do but to mind their own concerns, they were generally inclined to render good offices to such as stood in need of them, supplying them with provisions, ammunition, and arms, when they had occasion for them; by which they were great gainers, and made themselves many friends. In process of time, as things began to alter, and the Dutch acquired an apparent and a considerable ascendency in the Indies, the Danes, as well as other nations, felt the effects of it, and found themselves excluded from some of those branches of trade, which, within the foregoing period, had turned to the best account; and which, if they could have preserved it, would have enabled them to fulfil the hopes that were entertained from so prosperous a beginning [s].

Affairs in Europe also take such a turn as is very prejudicial to the company.

At the same time that things began to take a wrong turn in respect to their affairs in the Indies, those in Europe took still a worse. The founder and supporter of this commerce, Christiern IV. had his attention called off from things at such a distance by those long and bloody wars, in which, during the last years of his life, he was continually engaged; and which with a very few, and those but short intervals, lasted for many years after his decease. These troubles in the North, amongst other mischievous consequences, had very bad effects on the affairs of the Danish company, and put it out of their power to correspond regularly with their colony at Tranquebar, as usual, a circumstance which of consequence disabled that settlement from sending ships as usual into Europe [t]. This alteration in their affairs was not only severely felt by them, but at the same time rendered them contemptible to the European nations that were more fortunate, and diminished their credit with the natives; circumstances that were equally mortifying and irreparable: neither was it a small addition to these untoward accidents, that, being altogether unforeseen, the state of their commerce did not at all correspond with the appearance of the fort and town, which they had taken care to embellish in a manner that distinguished it from most of the towns upon the coast, at least at this juncture.

The famous Dutch navigator Walter Schouten, informs us, that he was there in 1661; at which time the Danish

[s] Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par Gautier Schouten, tom. i. p. 577. [t] Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 53.

Walter Schouten's account of the state of Tranquebar about the year 1661.

fort, being a square with regular bastions, all built of hard white stone, and the town of a large extent, laid out into long and broad streets, under its protection, afforded a very agreeable prospect from the sea. But he observes, as if it had been something remarkable, that there were two Danish ships in the port, the officers of which were very civil to those of the Dutch ship called the Red Lion, on which he was on board. It seems it was no usual thing for two ships to be there together; and he farther remarks, that their flags were but rarely seen in other ports of the Indies. He tells us likewise, that they were upon very bad terms with the Moors, which was one great occasion of their losses; and that the town was sometimes in danger of being plundered, if it had not been for the succours received from the fortress, in which there is always a pretty good garrison of European troops. The town, he farther says, was inhabited by Topasses, Gentoos, and Moors, all of whom, according to the custom of that country, pay an annual capitation to the Danes, as an acknowledgment for their defending them in time of danger [u].

SECT. III.

The different Shifts to which the Danish Colony are forced to have recourse, in order to maintain themselves in Possession of their Fortress. Attacked by the Naick of Tanjour with superior Forces. Generously assisted by the English, to whose gallant Behaviour they stand indebted for the Preservation of Tranquebar, and, of consequence, their Footing in the Indies.

Methods practised by the Danish company's servants, in order to support that colony.

AS it requires infinitely more skill to conduct a vessel in storms, or through streights beset with rocks and shoals, than in fair weather or in the open sea; so in a situation like this, when the mother-country was able to do little or nothing, we cannot with any colour of justice deny, that the managers of the Danish commerce deserved commendation for keeping their affairs on foot, rather than contempt for the mean condition they were in. The

[u] Voyage aux Indes Orientales de Gautier Schouten, vol. i. p. 577.

methods

methods by which they did this merit explanation. In the first place, the revenue of the town of Tranquebar afforded a subsistence for the garrison, which, though not very considerable, was regularly paid, and kept constantly complete. The small factories they had on the Malabar coast, their lodge at Chinchurat, and some other places in Bengâl, and a more considerable settlement at Bantam, furnished them with several kinds of commodities and manufactures, which were embarked, as occasion served, on board the vessels they sent to Surat, into the bay of Bengâl, to the streights of Malacca, and to the island of Celebes [w]. This country trade, if they had driven it entirely upon their own bottom, would not only have kept them from want, but procured them wealth, at least under a frugal management. The case, however, was otherwise; for, not having a sufficient capital, they were obliged to let out their ships for hire, and to take a great many goods on freight for Gentoo and Mooriſh merchants. These several expedients, taken together, kept them in a tolerable condition, and put it in their power to send now and then, perhaps once in two or three years, a ship to Europe [x].

The manner in which they have been from time to time distressed by the rajah of Tanjour.

But though these, and other arts of a like kind, might enable them to go on in peaceable and quiet times, yet it could not be supposed they should afford them any resources in circumstances of distress or danger, to which they were sometimes exposed, and more than once brought to the very brink of ruin. These difficulties chiefly arose from the quarrels they sometimes had with the rajah of Tanjour, who, upon very frivolous pretences, interrupted their communication by land; and sometimes carried his resentment so high, as to besiege their fortress and town with a numerous army [y]. If we may credit some accounts, as small and insignificant as the Danish commerce might appear in the eyes of their potent competitors, this did not entirely exempt them from envy, or hinder their covetous neighbours from offering very considerable sums for the port which they possessed. If the Indian rajah could reduce it at other times, being himself hard pressed by the Mogul, he judged it reasonable, or at least necessary, that his tenants should bear a share of the hardship as well as himself; and therefore employed force to extort the sums for which he had occasion, and which, though their ability

[w] Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. iii. p. 77.
[x] Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 51. [y] Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 67.

was

was very small, the Danes were compelled to furnish. When under these pressures, it has been insinuated, that they took very bold and unwarrantable steps to extricate themselves. An instance of this, we are assured by a countryman of our's, happened in 1684, when, through accidents of this sort, and the additional calamity of a famine, they were reduced so low as to pawn three of their bastions to the Dutch, for such a sum of money as might keep the garrison, and the people of the town, from starving. These, however, they redeemed the next year; but how they acquired the means of doing it, was a secret in the Indies. Some suspicions there were, however; because an English country ship, called the Formosa, bound to Surat, which in her passage called at Calicut for water, wood, and other stores, never reached her port; and a great firing of guns was heard from sea not long after she sailed from Calicut; and two Danish ships were at that time cruising from Cape Commorin to Surat, circumstances that occasioned great doubts which were never cleared up [z].

Imputations on the Danes in regard to ships taken, or supposed to be taken, by them.

It is without doubt a very unbecoming thing in a historian to throw out national reflections, or to deliver as matters of fact what may suggest them, when no authority can be brought to support those facts beyond the power of contradiction; and for this reason we have been so tender in mentioning what the reader may find very roundly asserted in several books of voyages; and which it is certain is an opinion commonly received in the Indies, whether well grounded or not. Taking it for granted that it is not altogether without foundation, that piracies are said to have been committed by ships under the Danish flag, the same perhaps may be also said of other nations; and the French accounts of Madagascar furnish us with instances of their ships cruising upon the Moors without any colour of justice, and without so much as the excuse of necessity or distress [a]. But, as these are things of a very odious nature, we will dwell upon them no longer, but return to the current of our history; which leads us to shew, that the English were much better neighbours to the Danes than some other people, who made no scruple of taking advantage from their distress [b]; whereas our countrymen not only contributed to relieve them from a

[z] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 352. [a] Histoire de grande Isle de Madagascar, par Monsieur Flacourt. [b] Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 977.

principle

principle of friendship and generosity, but did it also at their own cost, and to their own loss.

The rajah of Tanjour resolves to dispossess the Danes of Tranquebar.

About the close of the last century, when Mr. Pitt was the English governor at Fort St. George, a proposition is said to have been made to the rajah of Tanjour, for the purchase of Tranquebar, at no less rate than fifty thousand pardoes in ready money, when it should be in his power to deliver it. The Danes having early intelligence of this intrigue, applied to the English for succour, which was generously promised, and afterwards as punctually performed. The rajah of Tanjour, having once resolved upon this enterprize, assembled an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, with which he marched straight towards Tranquebar. The Indians were so extremely cautious, that they began to open their trenches above a mile from the town, and carried on two attacks. The earth being a dry sand, they drove down the bodies of cocoa-nut trees instead of stakes, both on the inside and on the out, and filled up the space between them with sand, so that their trenches were almost as thick as a town-wall, and very high, so that they were perfectly covered from the Danish fire. They had about twenty or thirty thousand men employed in this siege; and with incredible labour and patience, in about five months, they brought down their trenches within pistol-shot of the walls, and with their batteries had almost ruined one of the bastions, when the English reinforcements arrived. The Danes expected every day an assault, and were preparing to move their effects into the fort and quit the town; and indeed they gave the enemy very little disturbance in carrying on their works, for the garrison did not consist of more than two hundred Europeans, as many Indian Portuguese, and about a thousand blacks; and, besides the fort, they had to defend the circumference of the town-wall, which was not less than a mile and a half. It was faced with stone, but had no ditch; and therefore the Danes, to prevent the enemy's scaling it, had set high pallisadoes upon the top of the ramparts.

Gallant behaviour of the English auxiliaries.

A day or two after the English arrived, a sally was resolved; and about sun-rise a detachment of the blacks marched out, and were followed by the English; but the blacks were no sooner out of the gates, than they opened to the right and left, and made room for the English to advance. A body of the enemy moved out of their trenches, and came on in tolerable order, with their broad swords and shields, without shooting an arrow or firing

firing a piece. They were all decently clothed with white vests and turbans, and seemed determined to engage hand to hand in the plain between the town and the trenches. The English officers were in some pain, seeing this body of Indians advance with so good a countenance, knowing their men were new raised, and mixed with Portuguese, on whom there is very little dependence; but the great guns from the walls beginning to play, put them into confusion. They retired to their trenches with precipitation, and our men advancing, drove them still farther; but there being no preparations made for levelling the trenches, and the day growing hot, the English retired into the town, and the enemy returned into their works without any great loss on either side.

By the help of which the Danes compel the rajah of Tanjour to raise the siege.

A few days after it was resolved to make another sally with the greatest part of the garrison; and accordingly they marched out at the great gate opposite to the principal attack. The black soldiers, according to custom, retired under the walls almost as soon as they were out, to make room for the Europeans. The enemy kept close in their trenches, firing continually. Between the two attacks upon the plain stood a considerable body of musketteers and pikemen, against whom the English commander thought fit to advance; but had not marched many paces before a ball wounded him in the middle of his foot, an accident which compelled him to quit the field. The next officer took the command, and led them towards the enemy, who were drawn up in the plain. That body retreating, drew the English so far from the town, that they were intercepted by the Moorish horse; and the Danes, who the English expected would have supported them, never advanced a step. In this exigency the English officer having thrown some grenades into the trenches, the Indians were so complaisant as to quit them, and make room for the English, who marched quite along them towards the town, till they came to the end of the works; but here they were met by the Moorish horse; yet upon making one general fire, in which great execution was done, the horse scoured off, and left the English at liberty to march on to the walls, where they found the Danes drawn up in perfect security. In this action the English were, one half of them, killed or wounded; but however, it was by this seasonable assistance that the Danes preserved this town and fortress; for, soon after, the rajah of Tanjour, growing weary of a war that harassed his subjects, and brought him-

himself no advantage, retired into his own territories, and left the Danes at liberty to pursue their trade, and restore their shattered affairs as well as they could [c].

SECT. IV.

Frederic IV. takes the Resolution of employing Missionaries to preach the Christian Faith amongst the Pagans. The Steadiness with which, in Spite of all Discouragements, this excellent Design has been pursued. An accurate Account of the Danish Settlement, Fortress, Port, adjacent Country, Dependencies, present Condition, and future Prospects from the Colony at Tranquebar. Some Conjectures on this Subject, and the Arguments for and against the Danish Schemes truly and clearly stated.

Danish missionaries sent to Tranquebar by king Frederic IV.

BY these, and other accidents, the commerce of Tranquebar was exceedingly reduced at the beginning of the present century, notwithstanding all the care that those entrusted with the management of the company's affairs could take; they therefore thought themselves at liberty to divert a part of their attention to putting things upon the spot in the best condition possible, that, by enlarging the town, and encreasing the number of her subjects, their revenue at once might be augmented, and rendered more certain. In order to farther this scheme, the Danish company, having applied to their monarch, Frederic the Fourth, a prince of sincere piety, as well as great clemency and prudence, he enquired narrowly into the state of religion, which he apprehended ought to have been one of their principal objects in the conduct of that colony; and receiving a very unsatisfactory account, he determined to send over missionaries thither; an action equally worthy of a Christian prince, and of a sound politician [d]. Upon this occasion recourse was had to the celebrated Dr. Francke, divinity professor of the university of Halle, in Saxony, a man equally distinguished for his learning, piety, and disinterested zeal for religion; who, from amongst his numerous disciples, made choice of

[c] Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 67. [d] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 352.

two

two, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutschau, whom he recommended as perfectly qualified for so arduous an undertaking [e]. These, therefore, were received in that quality by his Danish majesty, and orders given that they should be sent by the next ships into the Indies. Accordingly, on the 25th of November, 1705, at Copenhagen, they embarked on board the Princess Sophia Hedwigh, and arrived in the month of April following at the Cape of Good Hope; and sailing from thence again on the 8th of May, they entered the harbour of Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel, in the beginning of July, 1706 [f].

Obstacles they met with.

Their countrymen gave them but little encouragement upon their first coming over; and were so far from shewing any extraordinary zeal for this new establishment, that they made no scruple of treating it as a project chimerical and impracticable; into which belief they were led from a persuasion, that the missionaries would never be able to learn the Damulian language, which is commonly spoken throughout Malabar, to such a degree of perfection as to preach it fluently to a people naturally fond of oratory, and esteemed to speak their own language more correctly than any of the nations in their neighbourhood [g]. This consideration did not at all discourage our missionaries, who within a short time set up a Portuguese school, where they taught poor children gratis. They next took a Malabar school-master, with all his disciples, amongst whom they entered themselves, and were content to learn to read and write that language with the children; which they did with such assiduity, that in a year's time they became masters of it, and could read, write, and speak it, as well as any of the natives [h]. Mr. Ziegenbalg continued his apostolic labours with indefatigable zeal till February 23d, 1719, when, being absolutely worn out with his incredible fatigues, he departed this life when not full thirty-six years of age. As for Mr. Plutschau, being of a weaker constitution, he was forced, after preaching there for some years, to return home; but his place was supplied by others, who, following the example of Mr. Ziegenbalg, promoted vigorously the design upon which they were sent, and made many con-

[e] Propagation of the Gospel in the East, p. iii. p. 2. [f] Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, vol. i. p. 74. [g] Propagation of the Gospel in the East, p. i. p. 26, 27. [h] Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, par Monf. La Croze, p. 537. Propagation of the Gospel in the East, p. iii. p. 8.

verts.

verts. In the course of their mission they met with many difficulties and discouragements; but by an indefatigable diligence and exemplary life, and a fervent zeal for that gospel they preached, overcame them all.

A succinct description of the little principality of Tanjour.

We are indebted to the letters published from these worthy missionaries for the largest, clearest, and most certain account, that we have of this country, taking in the dominions of the Indian prince to whom the sovereignty belongs, as well as the Danish colony, which is our proper subject. The principality of Tanjour extends in length, from east to west, about one hundred English miles; and in breadth, from south to north, about seventy [i]. This country is extremely well peopled; and the Gentoos are here, as they are every where else, ingenious, innocent, and indefatigable. The ordinary revenues of the rajah are about seven or eight hundred thousand pagodas; but, like the other princes of the Indies, he is supposed to have prodigious sums in his treasury [k]. He has always an hundred and forty trained elephants, and about three hundred horse, with a small body of infantry; but, when he is disposed to take up arms, he can, by the help of his money, raise almost what number of men he pleases; but thirty or forty thousand without difficulty. He is notwithstanding tributary to the Great Mogul, who sometimes draws from him large sums besides his tribute. His capital, which is likewise called Tanjour, is large, and encompassed with a strong wall; and his castle, or place of residence, spacious, magnificent, and well fortified, insomuch that, notwithstanding the armies of the Mogul have sometimes over-run his country, yet they have never been able to reduce this place, though they have besieged it more than once. According to the computation of our missionaries, it is distant from Tranquebar about sixty English miles. The rajah of Tanjour has, besides, three other strong places in his territory, exclusive of the little port of Karical, and the fortress which covers it; and which are now fallen into the hands of the French [l].

The nature of the climate, seasons, weather, and of the annual alterations therein.

As to the climate, in the months of August, September, and October, it is temperate and healthy; the land-breeze warm in the morning, that from the sea, cool and

[i] Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 6. [k] Tavernier, Le Brun, Dellon, &c. [l] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 263.

refreshing

refreshing in the afternoon. In November, December, and part of January, the west wind blows, bringing with it at the beginning very stormy weather, much rain, and sometimes frost. From the middle of January to the end of April the weather is temperate again; but from May to the middle of July it is excessively hot, and sometimes there is a wind blows as if it came out of an oven or a furnace [m]. In all these seasons the nights are not only temperate, but even chilly: the natives enjoy the hot, the Europeans the rainy or winter season, when every thing is fresh and green, and a variety of odoriferous flowers, shrubs, and trees, exhale a fragrance that may be conceived, but not described. It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the days and nights are nearly equal. At the changing of the seasons they have commonly very tempestuous weather, attended with terrible storms of thunder and lightning, which frequently do a great deal of mischief; but, with respect to hail and snow, they are never seen in those parts, yet their water is so chilled in the winter as to give them an idea of ice [n].

Fertility of the soil, how watered, produce, and other particulars relative to the country.

As for the soil, it is in itself extremely fertile, producing vast quantities of rice, many sorts of nourishing roots, and great variety of wholsome herbs, as well for the use of the table as for the apothecary's shop: they have most of those fine fruits of which they boast so much in the Indies; and their flowers equally delight the sight and smell by their beauty and odour. Yet this country has scarce any rivers, and but few rivulets, and is notwithstanding tolerably well watered; for in the summer, there come down land-floods from the northern countries, which the Gentoos distribute with such dexterity over their lands, that whatever they cultivate is sufficiently nourished [o]: yet, for constant and domestic use, they are obliged to have recourse to well-water, which, if brought from any distance, bears a considerable price for that country; and, on this account, in all the roads, at the distance of a league, or a little more, there are very neat structures built by charitable and public-spirited persons, where travellers may repose themselves as long as they think proper, and are in many accommodated with

[m] Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 11, 12, 13. [n] Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par Gautier Schouten, tom. i. p. 593. Description of the Coast of Coromandel, by Baldæus. [o] Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 17—20.

water

water gratis [p]. There are alſo in the country of Tanjour very fine meadows and paſtures, well ſtocked with cattle of different ſorts. On the coaſts they have plenty of good fiſh; and birds and fowl, tame and wild, in great variety. In ſhort, the country affords every thing that can render it commodious and pleaſant, to ſuch as are diſpoſed to live in a manner ſuitable to the dictates of nature and right reaſon, that is, temperately in all reſpects; for it muſt be owned, that exceſſes are always dangerous, and ſometimes fatal; but thoſe, who are careful in avoiding theſe, commonly enjoy a good ſtate of health [q].

The genius, manners, and employments, of the natives, extent of their language, and other circumſtances.

The natives are naturally ſenſible and ingenious, very capable of being inſtructed in all ſorts of learning, and have a ſurpriſing facility in acquiring mechanic arts. The Malabaric language is ſaid to be divided into eighteen dialects, the principal of which are theſe three; the Kerendum, which may be ſtyled the tongue of the learned, being chiefly uſed by the Bramins, and confined to their religious myſteries; the Damulian, which is the proper and polite language of all the Gentoos in this peninſula, taking in the compaſs of more than three thouſand Engliſh miles; the Wardagis, ſpoken in the northern countries, which differs from the Damulian in the ſame degree as the Scottiſh from the Engliſh language [r]. The dreſs of the natives is clean, thin, and ſlight, for the conveniency of being eaſily thrown off when they are inclined to bathe, which they do frequently. As to their manners, the better ſort of them are honeſt, courteous, and civil; the common people rude and unpoliſhed, as in other places. There are many rich and great men amongſt them; but the moſt part are but in middling circumſtances, getting their living by the ſweat of their brow; and, though they work hard, live frugally, and have but little to depend upon, yet they are commonly chearful and content; and as for beggars, except the faquirs, who are religious mendicants, there are none; for the Gentoos ſay, that he who made the mouth to eat made the hands to work. As there is little wood, and no timber, in this country, the better ſort of houſes are built with brick; and the poor live in cottages made with clay, and covered with ſtraw; but the Europeans build with ſtone,

[p] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. ii. p. 101. [q] Tavernier, Schouten, Hamilton, and the Miſſionaries. [r] Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 8, 9, 10.

only one story high, yet their rooms are spacious, airy, and very commodious. Provisions are still very cheap, though much dearer than they were formerly: the Gentoos live upon boiled rice, milk, herbs, and sweetmeats. The Moors live there as in other places, that is, as well as they can: as for the Europeans, they have rice, herbs, eggs, fish, fowl, hares, veal, mutton, goats, beef, and pork. The soldiers live comfortably upon two or three dollars a month; a Gentoo will live upon one; and those who spend high can hardly spend eight or ten at the most. As for the luxuries of the place, they are tea, arrack, and sinken, which is a sort of small wine, not made of grapes, but from the juice of a kind of palm [s]. The Moors are implacable enemies to the Gospel, and very seldom converted. The rajahs, their courtiers, and the bramins, have also an obstinate aversion to the Christian faith; and the common people are apt to insult those who have deserted paganism: nevertheless, the Danish missionaries have made a very considerable progress, and excited a like spirit amongst their neighbours, the English and Dutch; so that the number of new Christians is vastly increased, and they are generally speaking modest and sincere.

Present state of the town and fortress of Tranquebar, and of its inhabitants, Christians, Moors, and Gentoos.

The town and fortress of Tranquebar, according to the missionaries, stands in the latitude of 11 deg. but the French maps place it in 10 deg. 40 min. and in the longitude nearly of 78 deg. from the meridian of Paris [t]. The compass of the city is between two and three miles, fortified with a good stone wall, and several bastions, well provided with artillery, and in no great danger of being taken by all the forces that the Gentoos can bring against it. Before the gate that leads into the country stands a fine citadel; and the fort towards the sea is well built, regular, the bastions supplied with good brass cannon, and has commonly a garrison of three hundred men complete. Within the walls of the city there are three Christian churches: first, that of the Jesuits, or Portuguese, settled before the Danes went thither, which they have always tolerated, and treat the papists upon all occasions with much civility, though they have not made the most grateful returns [u]. Zion is the Danish church belonging to the garrison and old inhabitants, where service is performed in the Danish language, and according to the liturgy of

[s] Account of the Religion and Government, &c. of the Malabarians, p. 15. [t] Histoire des Indes Orientales, p. 101, 102. [u] Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, p. 536, 537.

that

that church. The third is that of Jeruſalem, built by the miſſionaries, conſecrated on the 14th of Auguſt, 1707. Every Sunday morning they preach there in Portugueſe, and in the evening in the Damulian tongue, and the children are catechiſed immediately after ſermon; the ſame exerciſe is repeated every Friday. There is alſo a large moſque for the Mohammedans; and five great pagodas, or pagan temples, for the Gentoos [y]. We may eaſily collect from hence, that, taking in Chriſtians of every denomination, Moors, and Gentoos, the place is very populous, more eſpecially at certain ſeaſons, when the convenience of trading with other Europeans invites thither ſtrangers from the adjacent countries. We find no exact computation made either of the whole number of its inhabitants, or of the Chriſtians, Moors, or Gentoos, that dwell there. Yet ſome writers, who were well acquinted with the affairs of the Indies, aſſure us, that, after Batavia, Tranquebar is the handſomeſt and beſt built place in the hands of the Europeans [z].

The diſtrict of Tranquebar, and the towns and villages that lie therein, deſcribed.

The diſtrict belonging to this town, which belongs alſo to the Danes, is of a very conſiderable extent, full of villages, and thoſe crouded with people. The moſt conſiderable of theſe villages is Borejar, in which there are thought to be very near as many inhabitants as in Tranquebar. The Moors have ſeveral moſques, and within theſe thirty years they have built a new one; and the Gentoos alſo have ſeveral large and ſplendid pagodas; but the faireſt and moſt pleaſant of their villages is Tilliar, in which reſide forty bramins, who have houſes perfectly clean and neat. The road to Tilliar from Tranquebar is ſet with a double row of trees, which bear red, white, and yellow flowers, not unlike our lilies; and, as theſe are freſh and green through the year, they render travelling, even in that hot country, very agreeable. Beſides theſe there are ſeven other places; viz. Tſandarapari, Kottupaleam, Erukittantſcheri, Tſchattanguri, Dewanallur, Oruwamangalam, and Tſchenkitankerei, which, though far inferior to the former, yet are all of them well inhabited, with a pagod in each, and the grounds about them are well cultivated. There are ſtill ſix more villages; viz. Pommeampoettei, Killinſchimedu, Calinkaraipoettei, Singnurpoettei, Akkamenpoettei, and Elamenpoettei, the in-

[y] Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 2. [z] Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 93.

habitants of which are fishermen, and such kind of people who acquire a subsistence by supplying the town of Tranquebar with fish; and also ply with their boats along the coast, carrying goods from place to place, as occasions require [a].

Account of the harbour and road, as also of the shipping belonging to the place.

The port and road of Tranquebar, though not much to be commended, yet are as safe and commodious as any in their neighbourhood, and capable of admitting large vessels; so that a famous Dutch writer had good reason to say, it was strange the Danes made no better use of this place, though there seems to be no good grounds for his adding, that they had as good or better opportunity than the English. In respect to those who reside there, the commerce is not altogether inconsiderable; for, by the help of the Gentoo merchants, they maintain some kind of correspondence with the people of the island of Ceylon, though they can trade only in small vessels, and by stealth, as it is no easy matter to escape the vigilance of the Dutch, with whom also they have some dealings [b]. They still keep up a few small factories on the pepper-coast, and have a lodge with a fine garden on the coast of Bengâl, to which they have sent some missionaries of late to preach the Gospel. It seems to be their great misfortune, that they are very seldom upon good terms with the rajah of Tanjour, who scarce ever finds himself in any tolerable state of security, but he thinks of falling on the Danes [c]. In 1718, he attacked them with the whole force of his country; and though he was then obliged to raise the siege, yet it has been conjectured that pieces of eight prevailed more than bullets. Since that time there have been so great distractions on the coast of Coromandel, that they have been less in danger than formerly; and as their trade is now reviving, it is very probable that they will find the means of rendering themselves more acceptable, or more formidable to this Indian prince [d] (N).

The

[a] Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy of the Malabarians, p. 3, 4. [b] From the Letters of the Missionaries. [c] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 101. [d] Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, tom. i. p. 74.

(N) A great part of what is suggested in the text has been actually effected; since by the concession of the town and fortress of Tranquebar to the Danish East India company, upon the renewal of their charter, who are obliged to keep the garrison complete, to pay the annual rent to the rajah of Tanjour,

Benefits resulting, or which may result, from the propagating the Christian faith.

The scheme in which they are engaged of converting the Indians to the Christian faith cannot fail of producing very beneficial consequences. Those converts, and their descendants, will be so many loyal and useful subjects to the Danish government, and may by degrees be employed in very different capacities; and it has been already observed, that, with a very small assistance, they apply themselves to some kind of trade or other, and get a comfortable livelihood. They may be also disciplined, and made at least better soldiers than any of their countrymen. Besides, it is found that the resentment shewn against these new converts, when the missionaries first went over, by their own nation, which was so great that they were frequently obliged to quit their country, begins to wear out, and the Indian Christians live at present in good correspondence with their Pagan relations. As these people are naturally sober and industrious, as well as sincerely devout, so there is nothing plainer than that the acquisition of numbers of such persons must add both strength and wealth to their masters. We may therefore expect, in progress of time, to see the face of things extremely altered in this part of the world, where the raising new commodities, for which their soil is as fit as any of the adjacent regions, and the introducing new manufactures, would either excite the Danes who reside there to aim at extending their commerce, or induce some of their neighbours, who have more money, to settle amongst them, and both encourage them by their example, and assist them for the sake of their own interest, which has been the case elsewhere [e].

Objections that may be made to what is before advanced, and their answers.

It may possibly be objected, that these conjectures are not very agreeable to facts; that, since the scheme of sending missionaries from Denmark, the concerns of the East India company declined; the little trade they had grew less; and the rest of the European nations, who had

[e] Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, p. 568.

Tanjour, and to defray the public expences of the government settled there. As this commerce has been ever since increasing, and as the company have at present a constant and regular trade to the coast of Coromandel, the bay of Bengâl, and the port of Canton in China, there is no doubt that gradual improvements are daily making (1).

(1) Recueil historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. Rousset, tom. v. p. 22.

not taken much notice of them before, began in a great measure to forget that there was such a thing as a Danish company or colony[f]. There is no doubt that much of these allegations might be disproved; and that without difficulty it might be shewn, that this objection has been actually made already. What has been before advanced is very consonant to experience as well as reason; for, though the affairs of the Danish East India company might not mend, but rather grow worse from this period, yet the condition of the colony grew better daily[g]. Their villages augmented, the people lived better, and the government of Tranquebar found itself more and more secure. Besides, the stated accounts given by the missionaries, the return of some of them upon necessary occasions into Europe, and the rumours that were spread by the seamen employed in the company's service, were attended with extraordinary consequences; since there is hardly a country in Europe which has not heard of, and approved this measure.

The continuance of this colony the cause of reviving the commerce from Denmark to China.

As soon as a new spirit of commerce sprung out of those necessities which the love of money and gaming had produced, and those great powers that were possessed of it, shewed a just persuasion of its value by the zeal which they expressed against the first attempts made to change its course, Denmark was next thought of; and that company, which had been so much neglected, was considered as a foundation upon which a noble superstructure might be raised.

[f] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 352.
[g] Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, tom. i. p. 74.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Proposition made to the late King of Denmark for erecting a new Company for carrying on the Commerce of the Indies. An Abstract of his Majesty's Charter, and an Account of the Progress of this Undertaking. It gives Umbrage, from the critical Conjuncture in which it was set on foot, to the Maritime Powers, who vigorously oppose it: appears to be a consolidating Scheme, in which the old Danish East India Company being comprehended, it stands on a quite different Basis from that at Ostend.

The proposal made on this important subject, to the court of Denmark, by Mr. Van Asperen.

UPON the ruin of the Ostend company, a Dutchman, whose name was Josiah van Asperen, who had been concerned in that affair, went to Copenhagen, where he applied himself to king Frederic IV. a prince of great goodness and virtue, who had nothing more at heart than promoting the welfare of his subjects by all the means that lay in his power [h]. The scheme proposed by Mr. Asperen to his Danish majesty had a very fair appearance, and great probability of success: he observed, that there was a strong spirit raised of opening a new trade to the Indies; that many people, who were very well versed in that trade, had engaged in the service of the Ostend company, the success of which would unquestionably have answered their expectations, if they could have carried it on; that the causes of its ruin were such as could not attend that project in any other country, but least of all in Denmark, which had enjoyed an uninterrupted commerce to the Indies for above a century; that therefore there was nothing farther necessary to render the Danish company as flourishing as those of England and Holland, than to increase its capital by opening a new subscription upon advantageous terms [i]. By the force of these arguments the king was prevailed upon to suffer his scheme to be put in execution; and, that it might be done more conveniently, the Danish East India company was transferred from the city of Copenhagen to the borough of Altena, a place belonging to the crown of Denmark, but situated close to

[h] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col 1144. [i] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 73.

the rich and free city of Hamburgh, and therefore made choice of upon this occasion [k].

Substance of the charter granted by his Danish majesty to the company transferred to Altena.

In order to induce foreigners to engage in this undertaking, his Danish majesty thought fit to grant a new charter, dated in April, 1728, for promoting the commerce of the said company to the Indies, China, and Bengal, the chief articles of which were these [l]: namely, the new subscribers shall have an equal share and right with the old members in all the concessions, octroys, and privileges granted to the said company by his present majesty, and his august predecessors; and likewise in all the forts, settlements, revenues, houses, magazines, ships, effects, and in short whatever the company is possessed of at this day, or may acquire in time to come: the old shares or actions, which are in number two hundred and fifty, of one thousand rixdollars each, shall subsist and remain as they are, and shall have the same right as the new shares: the directors shall declare and affirm, upon their honour, that all the debts of the company do not exceed one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars in specie: the united company are obliged to discharge and pay the said sum of one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars, upon condition that the old shares shall have no dividends till the year 1733: though there is no question that the accounts of the company are just, and that their debts do not exceed the said sum of one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars, it is nevertheless stipulated, that, if the said debts should appear to exceed the said sum, the old shares shall be answerable for the overplus, and that the new subscribers shall not be obliged to contribute thereunto: each new share shall be one thousand rixdollars in bank, or specie, whereof twenty per cent. shall be paid upon the account of Mr. Alexander Bruguier, banker at Hamburgh, or in the manner prescribed in the project published by the company at Copenhagen, December 16, 1727: if there was any absolute necessity to make a farther call the present year, 1727, the same shall not exceed five, or ten per cent. at farthest: the call for the next year shall not exceed twenty or twenty-five per cent. the remainder of the subscription shall not be called in without the resolution and determination of a general court of the company: if the entire sum of the said one thousand rixdollars for the new

[k] Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. Rousset, tom. v. p. 2.

[l] Corps Universelle Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. p. ii. p. 150.

actions

actions is not paid in the year 1738, the proprietors of the old shares shall have an interest at the rate of five per cent. allowed them for the sum they have paid more and above the new subscribers: there will be no other actions than shares of one thousand rixdollars, and half shares of five hundred rixdollars each: every subscriber shall be allowed to take shares for the bearer, signed by the company; and such as please may have them inscribed in the company's books: there shall be paid for each transfer two rixdollars to the company, and half a rixdollar to the poor: the creditors of the company are allowed to take new actions for the sums due to them, provided they discount on the said debts thirty per cent. for the present year for each share, and twenty-five per cent. for the next: the shares they shall purchase on this condition shall have the same dividends as the other new actions: the said share shall not be liable to any seizure or stop upon any account whatsoever, as it is declared in his majesty's octroy: the directors shall yearly communicate to the subscribers an exact and particular account of the affairs of the company: the dividend shall be regulated upon the said account in a general court of the company, by the majority of voices: the directors are not allowed to undertake any trade but the commerce in the East Indies upon the company's account, without the consent of the members thereof; and still less shall they dispose of or lend the company's money to any person whatsoever, for which they are to be answerable in solido in their own name and estate: they shall take an oath of exact observation of this article; and, for a faithful administration of the affairs of the company for the common benefit and advantage of the members thereof: all the merchandize which shall be sold in any other place than Copenhagen, shall be paid in the bank at Hamburgh, to one or more merchants, and most substantial traders, for the company's account: these merchants shall be chosen and appointed, in a general court, by a majority of voices, and in no other way upon any pretence whatsoever: the said merchants, or cashiers, shall pay no money but upon orders signed by three or four of the directors at least: the money to be paid this year shall be at the disposal of the present directors, till new ones to be added to them are chosen: the money arising by the new subscriptions shall be paid out in sending ships to Tranquebar, Bengal, and China, and for no other use whatsoever: no more money shall be kept in cash than what will be necessary for the fitting out and sending of ships, as in the preceding

preceding article: a general court of the company shall be called as soon as possible, in order to choose four new directors out of the new subscribers, who may be all foreigners.

The news of this company gives a great alarm to the subjects of the maritime powers.

On the publication of this new charter, and Mr. Van Asperen's soliciting his friends and correspondents in Holland to take a share in this subscription, a great inclination appeared to follow his advice[m]; but as this could not fail of giving great offence, more especially to those who were in the direction or service of other East India companies, it was not long before measures were taken to intimidate him, and to take off those impressions that his applications had made[n]. These practices certainly gave some check to that spirit which appeared in foreign countries in favour of this design, which, notwithstanding, had so great success, that those entrusted with the administration of the company's affairs, began to make preparations for such an expedition as might give them credit[o]. Several persons also, well versed in the East India trade, repaired to Copenhagen, and shewed an inclination to enter into the service, where they were kindly received, and often consulted; by which means this important subject came to be not barely known, but generally understood in that country; so that, not only great expectations were raised of the success which might attend this scheme, but also a warm zeal for promoting it to the utmost, and this amongst every order of men, upon that sensible and salutary principle, that whatever contributed to the public benefit ought to be esteemed a thing of public concern[p]. When affairs were thus circumstanced, preparatives, as it was very natural, were made with all imaginable vigour.

Their application to the court of Denmark by their ministers.

As soon as it was certainly known that the Danish East India company were actually upon the point of sending ships to the East Indies, agreeable to their plan, and to the power given them by their charter, a resolution was taken by the maritime powers to act in concert in this affair, and to endeavour to deprive the new company of their sole support, which was his Danish majesty's charter of incorporation. It was with this view that orders were sent to lord Glenorchy and Mr. d'Assenfeldt, the ministers of Great Britain and Holland at the court of Denmark, to act jointly in this affair, and to use

[m] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 73. [n] Historical Register, vol. xiii. p. 204, 205, 206. [o] Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. lxxxiv. p. 199. [p] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 1144.

their

their utmost industry to procure the repeal of the powers granted to this society; and in consequence of the instructions, those ministers soon after drew up and presented the following paper to the court of Denmark [q]:

"His majesty the king of Great Britain, and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, foreseeing the injury the transferring the East India company from Copenhagen to Altena will do to the commerce of their subjects; and perceiving with concern, that almost at the same instant they are making so great efforts to stop the progress of the Ostend company, the king of Denmark, their good old friend and ally, is setting up another, equally prejudicial to their subjects, have ordered the subscribing ministers to make most humble representations to his Danish majesty, hoping, from his majesty's friendship, that as soon as he shall be informed of the uneasiness this novelty gives them, he will withdraw the privilege lately granted to the company, and leave it on the ancient foot as it has always subsisted at Copenhagen; accordingly the subscribing ministers desire your excellency to make a report thereof to the king, and to procure them a favourable answer. Done at Copenhagen, July 31, 1728.

Glenorchy and Assenfeldt.

Progress of this dispute.

The king of Denmark and his council did not at all relish this memorial; to which, however, an answer was given, wherein his Danish majesty insisted, that the maritime powers had totally mistaken the point, because it never was the king's intention to erect a new company, or to transfer that, which had now subsisted above a hundred and ten years, from Copenhagen to Altena [r]: that this appeared clearly from the very project of incorporation, which granted no new powers to the company, but barely confirmed the old ones; that the voyages proposed directly for China, could not be esteemed an infraction of treaties, any more than the voyages formerly made by the company's ships from Tranquebar; that, farther still, his Danish majesty was not restrained by any treaty whatever from maintaining and supporting the commerce of his subjects to the Indies, either from their establishments in that part of the world, or directly from Copenhagen: that

[q] Historical Register, vol. xiii. p. 208. [r] Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. Rousset, tom. v. p. 35.

the

the law of nature and nations not only gave him a right, but made it his duty, to promote the welfare of his ſubjects, and to extend their trade as far as it was in his power: and that, finally, as he did not encourage this commerce, with any view of injuring the Eaſt India companies in England or Holland, but purely with a deſign to benefit his own ſubjects, he could not diſcern how this ſhould expoſe him to the reſentment of any other power whatever. How clear and full ſoever this anſwer might ſeem to the court of Denmark, it was far enough from giving any ſatisfaction to Great Britain and Holland; and therefore a freſh memorial was drawn up, to ſhew the inſufficiency of this anſwer, and the right which the maritime powers had to expect that his Daniſh majeſty ſhould comply with their demands, and withdraw his protection from the company. This memorial was delivered by the earl of Cheſterfield, and the deputies from their High Mightineſſes the States General, to Mr. Greys, his Daniſh majeſty's miniſter at the Hague, in the ſummer of the year 1729[s], from which time it does not appear that any farther applications have been made on this ſubject, or that the rights of the Daniſh Eaſt India company have been farther controverted.

Which turned to the advantage of the old Eaſt India company.

This warm oppoſition ſeemed at firſt to anſwer the end of the powers that formed it, but, in the iſſue of things, was really favourable to the deſign of the Danes. Frederic the Fourth, who was at this time drawing towards ſixty, and was equally unwilling to perplex himſelf with diſputes, or to ſacrifice the rights of his crown, and the intereſts of his ſubjects, declined the ſupport of the Altena company; but at the ſame time recommended the Eaſt India commerce to the care of the prince royal his ſon, who not long after ſucceeded him by the title of Chriſtiern VI[t]. This conduct had a double effect; for it prevented thoſe from intereſting themſelves in the capital of the Eaſt India company, who had nothing in view beyond trading in actions; and it put many others upon reſolving to contributing all in their power towards re-eſtabliſhing a commerce, the value of which was ſufficiently demonſtrated by the jealouſy that had been ſhewn about it. The dreadful conflagration by which Copenhagen was laid in aſhes, prevented any great progreſs from being made by the

[s] Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. Rouſſet, tom. v. p. 37. [t] Mercure Hiſtorique et Politique, 1730, p. 581.

prince

prince royal in the life-time of his father; but when he was seated on the throne, and had recommended himself to his subjects by abolishing a farm of the excise which had been set up about four years before, and was extremely grievous to the people, he resolved to apply himself to trade, and to promote to the utmost of his power whatever might excite the love of industry amongst his people.

Their affairs brought into order by Christiern VI.

His whole administration at home and abroad was directed entirely to these salutary views, and conducted with such address, that they perfectly answered his purpose. All the affairs of the East India company were, by degrees, brought into proper order; their house at Copenhagen, their docks, yards, and magazines, put into a good condition: a commerce with China directly was opened at a convenient season, and so prudently managed, that it has been constantly carried on ever since, and has grown more and more considerable in the space of about twenty years. The missions have also augmented during the same space, and the trade to Tranquebar has been rendered both more regular and more lucrative than it was in times past [u]. It is indeed true, that the Danish may be styled inconsiderable in comparison of the English and Dutch companies; but it is still a company, and a thriving company too, in comparison of what it was at the opening of the present century.

[u] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 1144.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Hiſtory of the French Commerce in the Indies.

SECT. I.

Endeavours of the French Monarchs to inſpire their Subjects with a Paſſion for Navigation and Commerce. Henry IV. erects their firſt Eaſt India Company, which ſunk without ever attempting any thing; makes way for another more active, and for a little Time ſucceſsful; but, in the Cloſe, after varying their Scheme, fall into a declining State, and are unable to ſuſtain themſelves in that Capacity.

A ſuccinct view of the true cauſes why the French nation were ſo late in encouraging commerce.

THE natural ambition and great vivacity of the French nation have excited the wonder of ſome of the beſt of their own writers, that they came ſo late to underſtand the benefits of commerce, and the great influence ariſing from a naval force. But whoever conſiders this matter attentively, and conſults what has been ſaid upon it by one of the ableſt as well as greateſt men France ever produced, will find it no difficult thing to diſcover the true cauſes of the ſlowneſs ſhewn in applying themſelves to points of ſuch importance, and the little ſucceſs they met with in their firſt undertakings of that kind [w]. In the firſt place they had not the ſpur of neceſſity, which produced ſuch wonderful effects upon the Venetians and the Dutch, who were forced, for a ſubſiſtence, upon thoſe meaſures which in a ſhort time raiſed them to wealth and power. Next, there were, generally ſpeaking, great imperfections in their government, at leaſt with regard to theſe matters; for ſometimes their monarchs had too little, and at others too much power. In their former ſituation they were able to give but ſmall encouragement to ſuch projects; and, in the latter, the want of ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of property was a bar to induſtry, and extinguiſhed public ſpirit. Laſtly, the vivacity, fickleneſs, and vanity of their tempers rendered the French very unfit

[w] Teſtament Politique du Cardinal de Richlieu, p. 83.

for

for things that required a calm, steady, and tractable disposition.

It will appear that these reasons are founded upon facts, when it is known how early one of the greatest French monarchs discerned these inconveniences, and with how much earnestness he laboured to find proper remedies. This was Francis the First, who, by his declarations in 1537 and and 1543, exhorted his subjects to undertake long voyages, and laid before them the advantages that would result to themselves from complying with his desire. This conduct was imitated by the last of his immediate descendents, Henry the third, who in an edict, dated the 15th of December, 1578, pressed the same point, but with very little effect; for either want of attention in the people, or the inability of the crown to give the necessary assistances, prevented any undertakings that, in a work of this nature, are worth mentioning [x]. However, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, one Gerard le Roy, a Fleming, who had made several voyages to the Indies in the Dutch service, came and offered himself as a pilot, in case a French East India company could be established. Such a company was formed under the king's letters patent, dated the 1st of June, 1604, by which they had an exclusive trade granted them for fifteen years, on the setting out of their first ship [y]. This design, however, came to nothing; but the same person revived his project in the succeeding reign, and, by the assistance of some friends at court, procured a new company to be erected by letters patent from Lewis the Thirteenth, dated March the 2d, 1611; but the same difficulties that rendered the former scheme abortive, that is to say, disputes amongst the proprietors, and want of money, had a bad effect upon this, so that for four years they undertook nothing [z]. At the end of that period two merchants of Roan, Muisson and Canis, petitioned the king, that the privileges granted to this inactive society might be transferred to them, offering to fit out ships that very year; which proposal, however, was opposed by those who were interested in the former establishment; and therefore the court judged a coalition necessary, which was soon after brought about [a].

The East India trade first attempted in France.

[x] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 14. [y] Histoire des Indes Orientales. par Guyon, tom. iii. p. 82, 83. [z] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 15. [a] Relations de divers Voyages curieuses, par Mr. Melch. Thevenot, part. ii. p. 128.

Letters

A new East India company set up on a coalition between the old adventurers and new ones.

Letters patent were granted to the old and new proprietors, July 2d, 1615, which were registered in parliament the 2d of September following. In the succeeding year they fitted out two good ships, the command of the largest of which, with the title of general, was given to captain De Nets, who at that time served the king in the marine. The lesser ship was bestowed on captain Beaulieu, who had no other recommendation than merit. The voyage was in all respects fortunate and well conducted, though in the end it did not turn to any great account; for the Dutch president in the Indies having published an order, requiring all the subjects of the States General, that were on board those ships, to quit them immediately, the two captains found it thereby out of their power to bring home both the vessels; and therefore that which had been commanded by captain Beaulieu was sold to a little prince of the island of Java, and all their effects brought home on board the largest; notwithstanding which unforeseen misfortune, and the great expence with which this undertaking was attended, they managed so prudently as to make it a saving voyage [b].

Undismayed by their want of success in their first, the company resolve to send a second time.

The company made the necessary preparations for another expedition, and took all possible precautions for rendering it successful, giving the chief command to commodore Beaulieu, who sailed October 2, 1619, from Honfleur road, with three ships; the Montmorency, of four hundred and fifty tons, carrying one hundred and sixty-two men, twenty-two guns, and twenty patereroes; the Hope, of four hundred tons, one hundred and seventeen men, twenty-six guns, and twenty patereroes; and the Hermitage, an advice-boat, of seventy-five tons, thirty men, eight guns, and eight patereroes; all victualled for two years and a half. We have the history of this voyage written at large from that gentleman's papers, and a very curious and instructive voyage it is; and from thence it appears, that as these were stout ships, and well equipped, so the whole voyage was conducted with the utmost skill and address, and a good lading procured for both the large ships at the port of Achen in the island of Sumatra [c]. Yet in some respects it was disastrous, the Hope being lost upon the coast of Java, or, as the commodore had very strong reasons to believe, was sunk by the Dutch, and all the men on board, and a cargo to the value of between seventy and eighty thousand pounds sterling; but, how-

[b] Discours sur le Voyage de General Beaulieu. [c] Voyages de General Beaulieu, p. 115.

ever,

ever, the commodore returned safe in his own ship to Havre de Grace, on the 1st of December, 1620[d] (O).

The consideration of this misfortune, and the fear of meeting with the like in succeeding expeditions, induced the company to confine her views to the island of Madagascar, in hopes that, if she could raise a powerful colony there, it might be the means to render succeeding attempts in the Indies more secure; but in this particular also, through a series of ill fortune and ill management, with which there is not either room or reason to trouble the reader here, they found the hopes they had formed disappointed, and that all their returns from thence fell very short of the expence that was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their settlement; so that, instead of contributing to the pursuit of their original design, it served only to exhaust their funds, to discourage those who were in their service; and to discredit their undertaking to such a degree, that for many years together there was no more done towards the establishment of an East India commerce, than if no such company had ever been erected [e].

But afterwards, turning their thoughts to the settlement of Madagascar, dropped the trade to the Indies.

[d] Relations de divers Voyages curieuses, par Mr. Melch. Thevenot, part. ii. p. 123. [e] Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. iii. p. 85, 86.

(O) It was in reality the civil war which broke out in France that interrupted the progress of this company, disabled the members from contributing the sums necessary to its support, and diverted the attention of the government, without which it could not subsist. Upon this, some traders in Normandy endeavoured to avail themselves of the company's charter, from whence sprung the original design of making a settlement in the island of Madagascar, as we learn from the testimony of a person who was deeply concerned therein, and whose voyage gives us light into many circumstances (1) that other writers endeavour to hide, particularly the bad behaviour of the French towards the natives, which, without doubt, gave an unfavourable impression of the whole nation, and their early bent to privateering in the Red Sea; both which errors in management became more and more evident in the conduct of their successors, notwithstanding that they set out upon a better plan, and for some time at least were better supported, which rendered them so much the more inexcuseable.

(1) Relation du Voyage de François Couche, de Rouen, en l'Isle de Madagascar, &c.

SECT. II.

Cardinal Richlieu turns his Thoughts upon this Subject; resolves to set up a new Company, with more extensive Powers, better Funds, and under his immediate Protection; all which Advantages, however, could not secure it Success. M. Colbert enters into the like Scheme, pursues it with equal Ability and Application; notwithstanding all which, the Affairs of the Royal East India Company gradually decline.

Cardinal Richlieu's project for establishing a new East India company.

BUT that wise and great minister, whose enterprising genius did so much good as well as hurt to France, the famous cardinal De Richlieu, resolved to revive this commerce, and undertook it, as he did all things, with great spirit. The royal privileges granted to this new company were dated the 24th of June, 1642, and contained all that could be thought necessary for promoting a society under the peculiar protection of so great a minister [f]. Yet it fell out unluckily, at least for this establishment; he did not long survive this grant; a circumstance which was a great prejudice to the company's affairs. However, Lewis the Fourteenth, or rather the regency acting in his minority, confirmed those privileges by an edict dated the 20th of September, 1643. All these it quietly enjoyed for twenty years, during which, this third company sent every year a vessel to Madagascar; but the greatest part of them were either cast away in their passage, or lost the best part of their crews by the scurvy; so that though the name of an East India company was kept up in France, yet they were possessed of no such trade; but contented themselves still with fruitless attempts to settle a colony at Madagascar; a design, which, after all, they could never bring to bear [g]. The time of their privilege being expired, the duke De la Meilleray attempted an Indian trade upon his own bottom; which ended in sending a ship or two to Madagascar, where he got into the possession of their settlements, and found them not worth keeping; though it is said that he made this attempt at a pretty easy rate, because, being master of the ordnance, he made free with

[f] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 16, 17. [g] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 86, 87.

the

the king's ſtores. On his death his ſon ſold his intereſt in this iſland for about twenty thouſand livres, which proved a great deal more than it was worth [h].

This event ſhews how little the French government agrees with commerce, and how difficult her ableſt miniſters find it to eſtabliſh trade by dint of power. Yet it muſt be allowed cardinal Richlieu took all imaginable pains in this reſpect. He ſent for perſons, who were beſt verſed in this trade, from Holland; drew abundance of rich merchants from different parts of Europe into France; formed the plan for the eſtabliſhment of the new company from his own ideas, and engaged the principal perſons for quality and fortune in France to embark in the undertaking. This ſtep, which he conceived would moſt promote it, proved the ruin of the whole deſign; for there being always ſome great nobleman at the head of this buſineſs, ſuch as endeavoured to obtain employment in the company's ſervice were forced to become his creatures; by which happy contrivance there were hardly any employed who had either merit or capacity; ſo that ſuch as were the beſt judges of the means of carrying on this commerce with ſucceſs treated the Eaſt India company as a phantom, and never concerned themſelves therewith. On the other hand, the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt India companies, being ſolely guided by experience, treated the affair of a French Eaſt India company with contempt; while the reſt of the ſtates of Europe, ſeeing France, with all her power, could make nothing of thoſe repeated attempts, took it for granted that the India trade was deſigned by nature for the maritime powers, and never troubled their heads about it; a thing hardly credible, if we had not the authority of the beſt hiſtorians to ſupport it [i].

This company coming to nothing likewiſe, the trade to the Indies was for ſome time dropped in France.

But the ſcene ſoon changed when Lewis the Fourteenth came to manage his own affairs, and had taken into his ſervice ſuch miniſters as were equally capable of foreſeeing and overcoming all the difficulties that could poſſibly be met with in the execution of the great deſigns they formed for the glory of their nation. The famous M. Colbert, ſo much diſtinguiſhed by that great prince whoſe activity and prudence procured his maſter many of thoſe ſucceſſes which rendered him the moſt powerful monarch in Europe, was the perſon who conceived the deſign of reviving the French Eaſt India company, notwithſtanding all the

The famous Mr. Colbert revives this project.

[h] Hiſtoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 19, 20. [i] Teſtament Politique de M. Colbert, p. 182.

misfortunes which had over and over diſappointed the ſkill and care of his predeceſſors [k]. But before he made his intentions known to the public, he took care to be well informed in the affair he was to undertake, by contracting acquaintance with ſuch merchants and ſeamen as were held to underſtand this ſubject beſt. It was from them he learnt the three principal difficulties in the way of that ſtructure which he laboured to raiſe [l]. The firſt was, the finding a ſufficient fund for eſtabliſhing ſuch a company, as to which nothing had been done that could afford any probable hopes of ſucceſs. The French merchants, fond of new projects, were ready enough in ſubſcriptions, but ſlow in complying with the terms of their contracts after they had ſubſcribed. The ſecond was, a peremptory excluſion of foreigners, notwithſtanding it was evident that the neceſſary funds for carrying on ſo extenſive a trade were not eaſily to be found in France. The third and greateſt difficulty was, the granting and eſtabliſhing ſuch a degree of liberty and independence to this company as might ſatisfy ſtrangers and natives as to the ſecurity of their property, and put the entire management of their affairs into the hands of ſuch only as were eſteemed fit to be truſted by themſelves. All theſe things he weighed in his own mind; and, when he had ſufficiently ripened his project, he communicated his plan to M. Charpentier, of the French Academy, eſteemed one of the beſt pens in France. As this paper was eſteemed a maſter-piece in its kind, explains the ſubject clearly, and contains abundance of curious circumſtances, it may not be amiſs to give the reader an extract of its contents; the rather, as we ſhall be obliged to refer to it often [m].

The principal points therein.

It began with this remark, that, as former ſchemes had failed for want of proper funds, there was no danger any thing of this nature ſhould happen here, ſince, beſides the conſtant protection which the government determined to give, the king himſelf, and the greateſt and the wealthieſt perſons in the nation, were reſolved to furniſh ſuch large ſums at the beginning as might put it on a level at leaſt with the Dutch Eaſt India company at the time of its firſt eſtabliſhment. In regard to any objection that might be raiſed from the diſappointments which had overturned three companies already, it was obſerved, that few or no

[k] Eſſai ſur la Marine et ſur le Commerce, p. 113. [l] Eloge de M. Colbert, par M. Perrault. [m] Diſcours d'un fidele Sujet du Roi touchant l'Etabliſſement d'une Compagnie Françoiſe pour le Commerce des Indes Orientales, Paris, 1664, 4to.

under-

undertakings of this ſort were attended with immediate ſucceſs: that the Spaniards ſuffered greatly in their firſt expeditions to America, which did not hinder them from perſevering in thoſe deſigns, that had acquired them the empire of the new world: that the Engliſh colony in Virginia had failed four or five times, and yet was brought to perfection at laſt: and that even the Dutch Eaſt India company, which ſo much excelled all others, was far enough from being fortunate in its beginning.

Theſe principles laid down, it was next ſhewn, that the iſland of Madagaſcar, a conſiderable part of which was then in the poſſeſſion of the French, was a country capable of being improved to ſuch a degree, as to become of more conſequence, and of greater advantage, than any of the ſettlements poſſeſſed by the Dutch in the Eaſt Indies. In ſupport of this aſſertion, it was ſaid, that nobody would deny this ſettlement was incomparably more commodious and more ſecure than that of Batavia, which the Dutch had nevertheleſs made the capital reſidence of their company in the Indies: for, with reſpect to the place, the country of Madagaſcar was extremely agreeable; the climate equally temperate and pleaſant, and the ſoil affording all the neceſſaries of life in the greateſt abundance; whereas the territory about Batavia was ſo far from being fruitful, that the company were obliged to procure from diſtant places rice, freſh meat, and other proviſions, for twenty-five or thirty thouſand people, a taſk which could not but be attended with great difficulties, as well as a vaſt expence.

In reſpect to ſecurity, it was well enough known that only a ſmall part of the iſland of Java was in the power of the Dutch; and that the reſt of the country, which was large and populous, was inhabited by a variety of nations, agreeing however in the fierceneſs and brutality of their natures, and in a bigotted zeal for the Mohammedan religion, which made them hate and deſpiſe all Chriſtians to the laſt degree: that the territories of the Dutch bordered on one ſide on thoſe of the king of Materan, who had more than once invaded them at the head of an army of upwards of an hundred thouſand men; that, on the other, the city of Batavia itſelf was but twelve leagues diſtant from the dominions of the king of Bantam, who had likewiſe ſhewn himſelf their powerful and inveterate enemy; whereas the inhabitants of Madagaſcar were of a mild diſpoſition, and ſo inclined to receive the Goſpel, that a ſettlement conſiſting of one hundred men would be

in greater fecurity there, than one of a thoufand and upwards in the ifland of Java: that, befides all this, by fixing their principal poft in Madagafcar, the French company would be better feated for trade than the Dutch in Batavia, becaufe it was equally convenient for carrying on the commerce of the Red Sea, or of the gulf of Bengal, and lay at the fame time very properly for the difpatch of fhips to China and Japan, affording a convenient place for refitting and refreshing in their return.

In reference to the execution of a project which thefe arguments were fuppofed to demonftrate probable and feafible, it was faid in this memorial, that a fund of fix millions, or three hundred thoufand pounds of our money, would be neceffary to the equipping twelve or fourteen large fhips, from eight hundred to fourteen hundred tons, in order to embark fuch a number of perfons for this ifland of Madagafcar as might effectually and at once eftablifh a confiderable colony there; that there was no reafon to doubt that his majefty would advance a tenth part of this fum; that the nobility, and other perfons of fortune, would advance alfo the fums requifite to fet this defign on foot; and that as the king was willing to take a tenth fhare in the fetting out, they had reafon to expect he would concern himfelf largely in future expeditions: that, as a further encouragement, he was willing to grant the company an exemption from half their duties, both inward and outward, on all goods exported to or imported from the Indies: and, over and above all this, his majefty was content to take upon himfelf all the lofs that might arife for the firft eight or ten years; a circumftance which was fufficient to fhew how much and how fincerely he had this great defign at heart, and how willing he was to contribute to its fuccefs: that as to private perfons, they fhould be at liberty to fubfcribe in what proportions they pleafed, till the fund was full; after which, no farther fubfcriptions fhould be received on any terms.

That the king would not only permit foreigners to take what fhare they pleafed in thefe fubfcriptions, but, to encourage them thereto, would likewife confent that fuch as fubfcribed ten thoufand livres (this was afterwards changed to twenty thoufand), or upwards, fhould thereby acquire the right of naturalization, without any farther ceremony, by which their relations, though ftrangers, fhould be capable of inheriting their effects in France; and farther, that, in cafe of a rupture with the ftate to which fuch ftrangers were fubjects, their effects fhould never be liable to confifcation

fiscation on any pretence whatever: that the affairs of the company should be managed by their own directors, chosen from amongst themselves, in whose hands the funds of the company should constantly remain; and that foreigners should be capable of being elected directors, provided they were interested in a reasonable degree in the stock of their company, and resided in France: that, in point of law-suits, the company should be made as easy as possible; and, after being heard in the first inferior court, near the place where the cause of action arose, they should be at liberty to appeal directly to the parliament.

Good effects of this memorial, which produced a new East India company, with greater powers.

This memoir was exceedingly well calculated to answer its end, by reviving the hopes of the nation, and by throwing the weight of former disappointments upon want of money and want of conduct; it was also well contrived to magnify the importance of Madagascar, and that without doubt a little at the expence of truth, that people might not be discouraged at the recurring to a measure that had so often failed, and that they might please themselves with the hopes of seeing the whole design quickly brought to bear; since a place of such high importance, though hitherto so indifferently managed, was still in the possession, or at least in the power of France. Upon this basis, therefore, was raised the last East India company, which in some degree still subsists, and which was erected by a very ample and well-drawn edict, in which every thing was put into the best form, and set forth with all the advantage imaginable, dated in the month of August, 1664, and soon after registered in parliament, containing forty-seven articles; and fixing the actions, as they were then first called, at one thousand livres; reserving a power to the company of making farther demands upon her proprietors, not exceeding half that sum upon each share [n]. All the advantages formerly promised to natives, or to strangers, were actually given, and every other method employed that might maintain a good opinion of the government's favourable intention for this new company, the success of which, after so many fruitless attempts, it was believed, would do honour to that reign, and to the administration of M. Colbert, who, as he shewed great spirit in forming the plan [o], so his constancy was visible in supporting this

[n] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 177—190. [o] La Vie de Jean Baptist Colbert, p. 36, 37.

commerce with great firmness, and persevering in his care for it even to the last.

Which, being countenanced and encouraged by the court, is quickly enabled to act vigorously.

Whatever is heartily espoused by a prime minister will, in all countries, but more especially in those under an arbitrary government, find a multitude of advocates, and rise into general esteem, especially if it receives concurrence as well as countenance from the government, which in this instance was actually the case; for the king, as he had promised, paid three hundred thousand livres in ready money. Most of the great men of the court, either from motives of prudence or public spirit, interested themselves in like manner, and their example was followed by all who could afford it; so that in a short time the company was in a condition to undertake any expedition that should be judged most conducive to the ends for which it was instituted. Upon mature deliberation, therefore, an effectual settlement was resolved upon in the island of Madagascar; in order to which, a regulation was drawn up for the intended colony, so well contrived in all respects as to attract, and that very justly too, the public approbation [p]. Numbers of people offered themselves to go over and settle there; and accordingly, on the 7th of March 1665, four large ships, equipped as well for war as for trade, carrying in all five hundred and twenty men, sailed from Brest, and arrived safely at Madagascar on the 10th of July following. Such was the first attempt of this new company, which being executed in all respects with spirit, diligence, and success, raised a general expectation that all obstacles would be at length overcome, and that the great and magnificent promises made in favour of this establishment would be effectually performed.

Their colony sent to Madagascar call it Isle Dauphine, and endeavour several settlements.

The first step this new colony took after they arrived, and were settled on the place, was, to change its name in honour of the heir apparent of the crown of France, then about four years old; so that instead of Madagascar, it was for the future to be styled Isle Dauphine. Next year a new embarkation was made; and, in order to excite still greater numbers to go thither, a description of the island was given, together with an account of the new colony, representing the former as a perfect paradise, and the latter as the happiest and best satisfied people in the universe. By affixing these papers in public places, and

[p] Relation de l'Etablissement de la Compagnie Françoise pour Commerce des Indes Orientales, Paris, 1665, 4to.

circulating

circulating them through the kingdom, the ends of the company were answered; and a great reinforcement of new adventurers sent over to the Isle Dauphine, where a regular government was actually settled, together with the company's first and chief residence, agreeable to M. Colbert's original memorial, and in imitation of the Dutch establishment at Batavia [q]. In the mean time that great minister employed his thoughts for compassing more essential advantages, and such as might render the commerce of the new company more agreeable to its title; being sufficiently sensible, that, whatever might be said for the present, it would not be long before the French would exclaim that their new India company had as yet brought nothing from the Indies. To second his views in this respect, many projects were offered, and not a few of those bold adventurers presented themselves with magnificent promises; but though the former were received, and the latter encouraged, yet the cautious minister, who knew of how great consequence it was to make choice of a right plan, and of proper persons to carry it into execution, was far from being hasty in his decision. Indeed every day's experience taught him, that, whatever it might be in other countries, there could not be a more difficult task in France than to establish an East India company; and this, notwithstanding he had the authority of the crown, and the good opinion of the better part of the nation, to support him in his design, without either rivals or enemies to give him any opposition [r].

But the company suddenly alter their plan, and resolve to enter on the East India trade at once.

After mature reflection, however, and the necessary consultations with those who were placed at the head of the company's concerns, it was resolved, that, in the year 1667, some ships should proceed from Madagascar to the Indies; and that the care of fixing an introductory establishment there, should be left to the joint endeavours of two very intelligent persons, who had been lately taken into their service. The first of these was Mr. Caron, who has been mentioned already more than once; he was a native of France, but had been for many years in the Dutch service, and had been raised in that service to the rank of president of the factory of Japan, where, for reasons which we have assigned in their proper place, he suffered severely. Not thinking himself sufficiently considered for those sufferings, he quitted the Dutch service, and

[q] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 38, 39.

[r] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 136.

returned

returned to France, at a juncture when a man of his abilities was much wanted, and therefore he was careſſed and employed [s]. The other was Mr. Marcara Avanchinz, a native of Iſpahan in Perſia, nearly allied to ſeveral perſons of great rank in that empire, as alſo to ſome who enjoyed governments, and other great employments in the Indies, ſo that the company had good reaſon to expect great things from their abilities and experience [t].

Upon which their agents proceed to ſettle a factory at Surat.

They proceeded accordingly from Iſle Dauphine, as the French call it, and arrived the day before Chriſtmas, 1667, at Cochin, where they were well received, and very reſpectfully treated by the Dutch governor; and from thence they continued their voyage to Swally, which is the port of the famous city of Surat, in which they were to erect their firſt factory [u]. In 1669 it was judged for the company's ſervice that M. Marcara ſhould repair to the court of Golconda, where he had ſeveral particular friends, as well as near relations, in order to obtain, through their intereſt with the king, the privilege of trading through his dominions, purchaſing whatever kind of merchandize they wanted, and employing manufacturers for the ſervice of the company, as alſo for obtaining a licence to eſtabliſh a factory at Maſulipatan. This commiſſion, taken all together, was extremely difficult, more eſpecially as it was known that the Engliſh and Dutch had not been able to procure ſmaller favour than theſe, though they had great intereſt in that court, and had been at vaſt expence to preſerve it; nor was it any ſecret that their agents would give this Perſian negotiator all the trouble and oppoſition in their power; and at the ſame time he was but indifferently ſupplied with money, which is as neceſſary, in ſuch caſes, in the Indies, as in Europe. However, the ſieur Marcara undertook very chearfully, and executed very happily, this important negotiation [x]. It is true, he was a long time about it; and rejected one firman, or letters patent, from his majeſty of Golconda, in which there were ſo many qualifications and reſtrictions, that he judged they would have been of little uſe; but in the end he obtained a firman, dated December the 5th, 1669, by which the French company were permitted to negotiate through all the king's dominions for ever, without paying any duties either inwards

[s] Hiſtoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 40, 41. [t] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, p. 136, 137. [u] Memoires du Sieur Marcara. [x] Hiſtoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 43, 44, 45.

or

or outwards, either for the king's ships, or for those of the company; a privilege which the Dutch could never obtain, and which the English acquired in 1655 at a vast expence, after having rendered, for twenty years together, very signal services by sea to the monarchs of Golconda. M. Marcara went to Masulipatan, where he caused his letters patent to be registered, settled a factory; and, in quality of chief, carried on the commerce of the company with the same zeal and diligence that he had shewed in his negotiation [y].

But the sieur Caron soon gains an ascendency, which is no great advantage to him.

One would have imagined, that, after such testimonies of his fidelity, and those too attended with such surprising success, the credit of this Persian should have been so thoroughly established, as well with the French court as with the company, as to be out of any danger of suffering from sinister insinuations; and yet it fell out quite otherwise, for his competitor, Mr. Caron, having acquired by his intrigues a superior interest, obtained an order from Mr. Colbert, in 1671, by which himself was raised to the second post in the East India company's service, and all the friends of Mr. Marcara were removed from their employments, and subjected to prosecutions, though there was not a word said of him in that order, or the smallest mismanagement laid to his charge [z]: but things wore another face in France, where his character was injured by a multitude of aspersions; of which having notice from his friends, he transmitted such full justifications that M. Colbert, having thoroughly examined into every thing, and made an impartial report to the king, his conduct was entirely approved, and his innocence acknowleged by a solemn arret: but it is fit that we should likewise shew what the services were which his rival also rendered to the company, and by what projects he so effectually recommended himself to so intelligent and clear-sighted a minister, as to be able, though but for a short time, to abuse his confidence to such a degree, as to bring a person into disgrace who had deserved so well, and whose interest, as well as his experience, was of so great service to the company's affairs, without his giving so much as the slightest occasion for their displeasure, or even for their suspicion [a].

[y] Memoires du Sieur Marcara. Orientales, tom. iii. p. 146. des Indes, p. 63, 64.

[z] Histoire des Indes

[a] Histore de la Compagnie

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His project of attacking Ceylon comes to nothing, and, in the issue, proves his ruin.

It is allowed that the sieur de Caron settled the factory at Surat, of which the French are still in possession, as also that of Bantam, upon the island of Java, which they held till, as we have shewn elsewhere, the Dutch became masters of that kingdom, or rather of the king, and, under colour of his authority, excluded them and the English; an event which, however, happened some years after this gentleman's death [b]. The great experience he had gained during the time he served the Dutch, made these things easy and familiar to him; but what, without doubt made him most acceptable to M. Colbert, was, the scheme of surprising some of the fortresses in Ceylon, and bringing of the French at once into a share of the spice trade. In this he is on all hands allowed to have had a very large concern, if he was not the original inventor of it; and it must be likewise confessed, that the plan was very well laid. The minister was very desirous of seeing the East India commerce firmly established, a regular correspondence fixed, and rich cargoes brought every year into France; for he began to be convinced, that, if this was not speedily done, the last India company would be little better than the first; and that as the busy roving spirits of the French would not allow them to live long enough in a place to render it fertile, if it was not so naturally, or to accumulate riches if they were not at hand, and, in a manner, to be had for taking up; so, if this project had succeeded, which was supported by a competent force, and they could once have fixed themselves in any part of the island of Ceylon, for which it is said they had obtained the consent of the emperor of that island, it would have answered all these purposes, and would have given them a fortress, a port, and a share in the cinnamon trade, at a single stroke [c]: but, as we have informed the reader, in treating of the affairs of the Dutch, how this project miscarried, and how the sieur Caron lost his life in sight of the port of Lisbon, on his return, it is not necessary that we should dwell longer upon it here, though it is certainly a piece of history that very nearly concerns this subject. By his death it came to be known, that though he had been very zealous and diligent, yet he had not been over-faithful in the management of the company's affairs, but had amassed much wealth for himself, of which the greatest part perished with him,

[b] Tavernier, Chardin, Le Brun, &c. des Grandes Indes, Paris, 1698, 12mo.

[c] Journal de Voyages

while

while he was endeavouring to depoſit it in a place of ſafety [d].

Before this unhappy event fell out, the new East India company began to be weary of her eſtabliſhment at Madagaſcar, chiefly, as they acknowleged, through the ill management of thoſe who were placed in authority, and principally intruſted with her affairs; but, in reality, becauſe the country was fruitful, pleaſant, and very fit for hunting, and other ſports, to which thoſe they ſent over entirely devoted themſelves, and thought very little of the conditions upon which they were carried thither. The neceſſaries, the conveniencies, and the pleaſures of life, were eaſily to be had; and, in acquiring theſe, the people thought they purſued their own intereſt, and would not forego them, or fatigue themſelves, in reſpect to the intereſts of the company; who therefore deſired that the king would reſume his gift, which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty accordingly did by his arret dated November 12th, 1670 [e]; and thus, the iſle Dauphine being abandoned, the company's chief reſidence was fixed at Surat, where they had new powers and freſh favours granted them by the crown; for all which they were indebted to Mr. Colbert, as well as for the exemption from duties of all kinds, and indeed for every thing elſe that they could aſk with any tolerable pretence, in order to encourage and render flouriſhing, if it had been poſſible, a commerce upon which he had ſet his heart [f]; and that for no other reaſon, but becauſe he thought it honourable and profitable for the kingdom, the welfare of which was the object of his miniſtry.

A reſolution taken by the company to quit the Iſle Dauphine, and tranſfer their reſidence to Surat.

Notwithſtanding theſe repeated favours, it became every day more and more apparent that their affairs were in a bad condition, and that without ſome ſpeedy remedy they would fall into abſolute confuſion. A general court was called of all the proprietors, at Paris, before whom a true ſtate of their concerns was laid; of which, through the interpoſition of Mr. Colbert, a report was made to his majeſty, who thereupon iſſued his declaration, dated September 13th, 1675, importing that a dividend of ten per cent. ſhould be paid to ſuch of the proprietors [g] as had completed all their payments; that, with reſpect to thoſe

Yet, without the interpoſition of the crown, their affairs muſt have fallen into confuſion.

[d] Baſnage Annales des Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 457. [e] Hiſtoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 74, 75. Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 158. [f] La Vie de Jean Baptiſt Colbert. Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 150. [g] Hiſtoire de la Compagnie des Indes, tom. iii. p. 71, & ſeq.

who

who had not completed them, they should have time to the 1st of July 1676; and, upon completing their payments, should have a discount of ten per cent. that the capitals of such as neglected to complete their subscriptions should be forfeited for the use of the company: and, lastly, that whereas, through the losses and discouragements to which all new undertaking are inevitably liable, the East India company had incurred a debt of no less than four millions, his majesty, according to the promise made in the edict of his creation, discharged that debt, and also forgave freely and for ever the said sum of four millions advanced for their service. This extraordinary generosity of the crown was followed next year by a new favour, which was, the freeing all merchandize bought at their sales from all duties inward and outward, except those transported to Lyons, and even those were to pay only a fourth of the usual duties upon entry, and those of the custom-house belonging to that city. Such was the situation, and such the repeated benefits bestowed upon this company during the ten first years of its subsistence; by which we see, that nothing but the care of the government prevented it from sinking into ruin [h].

Are obliged to demand the king's permission to grant licences on certain terms, to private traders.

At the close of the year 1681, some private persons having insinuated that they were willing to embark their fortunes in a trade to the Indies, provided they might obtain licences; and the company likewise having signified to the king, that it might prove beneficial to them, if they had a power to grant such indulgencies; this favour likewise was added to the rest, and private traders were permitted to engage in this commerce upon the following conditions: that they should transport themselves and their effects on board the company's ships, both outwards and inwards: that they should pay their freight and passage before their departure: that the goods they brought home, precious stones only excepted, should be exposed in the company's sales, and their produce fairly accounted for: that these licences should be in force only for five years; and that, if they should be found prejudicial to the affairs of the company, the directors might abridge or cancel them at their pleasure [i]: but notwithstanding these advantages, and though they scarce asked any thing of M. Colbert but what was granted, yet their affairs continued declining; and, as he died in 1683, the spirit of

[h] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 150, 151. [i] Ibid. 158, 159, 160.

this

this commerce might be said to expire with its patron [k]. The body indeed of the company was kept up, not much perhaps to its advantage; they had not only a court of directors at Paris, but, in imitation of the Dutch East India company, chambers of direction at several ports, a council in the Indies, and, in short, the appearance and trappings of a great society, when at the bottom they were distressed and poor, so that upon stating a general account in 1684, it clearly appeared, that, instead of gaining one penny by their commerce, they had actually run out one half of their capital. This deficiency was attributed to several causes, but principally to three: the war with the Dutch, which lasted from 1672 to 1678; the frauds of the persons employed in their service in Madagascar and the Indies, who, though they were sent by the company, acted as if they had no other business there than to mind their own interests, which they did at the expence of their masters; so that some private fortunes were made, while the concerns of the public were running to ruin; and, lastly, to the supineness, timidity, or inability, of their subscribers, who had not paid in their proportions of stock [l].

SECT. III.

Various Efforts made to restore their Credit, and to keep their Trade alive, in which they are sometimes assisted by, and sometimes meet with Discouragements from the Ministry, which at length induces them to let out their Privileges to private Persons: the Consequences of these Licences, which, amongst others, produce a China Company, and, upon the whole, turn to very little Account, in whatever Light they are considered.

To retrieve some degree of credit, it is found requisite to make a change in the company's administration.

TO remedy these disorders, and to retrieve, if possible, the trade of the company, it was resolved to change their system of government, to suppress all the little chambers of directors, and to put the whole management of the company's concerns into the hands of twelve directors residing in Paris, who were each of them to pay in thirty thousand livres upon the forfeited actions, and to be allowed reasonable salaries. It was also resolved, that all who had not made their payments should forfeit their shares

[k] La Vie de Jean Baptist Colbert, p. 303. [l] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 73, 74.

to

to the company; with a proviso, that if, in two years, they made good their payments, they should enter into their former rights, and have all their actions restored. This regulation was confirmed by a royal edict, dated in February, 1685, by which the king left the company free liberty either to resume the sovereignty of the Isle Dauphine, which they had surrendered in 1670, or to leave it as it then was in the king's hands. As the company were left at liberty to do as they thought fit in this affair, they, after mature deliberation, thought proper to adhere to their last resolution, and to quit this island entirely to the crown; which act of their's was confirmed by the king's arret, dated June 4th, 1686 [l].

New directors added to increase the much exhausted fund of the company.

In the succeeding year eight new directors were added upon a very laudable motive, which was, that of increasing the capital of the company; for they were obliged to pay in ready money forty thousand livres in case they were possessed of twenty thousand of the company's stock, and sixty thousand if they were possessed of none; and these sums, together with those advanced by the proprietors, brought such a supply to the company's cash, that even the most intelligent people began to entertain great hopes, that, after so many disappointments, this commerce would be put upon a solid foundation: these hopes were not a little augmented by the dividends made in that year, and in 1691, amounting in the whole to thirty per cent. but these flattering expectations soon gave way to presages of another kind, that were better founded, and which were entirely owing to a new strain of politics that prevailed in France; whereas hitherto the power of the crown had been solely employed in protecting and advancing the commerce of this company, notwithstanding repeated losses and miscarriages; so now of a sudden, when this trade began to answer in some degree, that very power was employed to distress it; and the consequence plainly proved, that how difficult soever it might be to raise, yet there was nothing easier than for a minister to destroy a trade by an ill-judged and untimely interposition [m].

When their commerce began to take a turn in their favour, the government alters its conduct.

In order to understand this material point in the history of the French commerce, it is necessary to observe, that, finding gold and silver brocades, and painted cottons were goods of the quickest sale, they struck into that branch of trade, by which they were very considerable gainers; and that they might encourage the artisans of their own country, they imported chiefly white cottons, and caused them

[l] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 162, 163. [m] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 75.

to

to be painted after the Indian manner in France, by which means they had the command of the faſhions; and when people began to be tired with one ſort of goods, they revived their appetites by introducing another. The demand for theſe goods being thus kept up, and continually increaſing, the manufacturers in France ſet up a general clamour that they were ſacrificed to ſtrangers; and that, if a ſtop was not immediately put to the importation of theſe ſilks and cottons, they ſhould be all ſtarved. Upon this came out an edict, dated January 27, 1687, by which this branch of commerce was prohibited; and it was with very great difficulty that the company procured leave to ſell off what they had in their hands, and what might arrive by the next ſhips; but what was moſt extraordinary, they were required to break all their moulds for printing, without conſidering that this was as much a manufacture of France as any other. As to the brocades, they were allowed ſome little indulgence, which however did but juſt keep them from ſinking; with the aſſiſtance of ſome other favours, which the few friends they had yet left at court, not without much ſolicitation, obtained. By this inſtance the reader may ſee how little ſafety there is for trade under an arbitrary government, where all things depend at beſt upon the underſtanding of a miniſter, which is a very precarious tenure, and very often upon his caprice, or the influence that he is under, which is the moſt dreadful ſituation people can be in who have any property at all [n].

From which they ſuffer infinite and intolerable hardſhips, and acts of injuſtice.

Theſe, however, were but the beginning of their misfortunes; the farmers of the public revenue, who have generally ſpeaking the ears of miniſters more at their command than other people, inſinuated, that their great idol the revenue was prejudiced by the privileges and immunities granted to the Eaſt India company; to which inſinuations, though their patrons readily liſtened, yet they knew not well how to proceed; for, to have gone roundly to work, and aboliſhed theſe, would have been ſuch an apparent infraction of the original edict, as would have been too glaring even in that country: but the farmers general ſoon got the better of this ſcruple, by ſhewing, that it was eaſy to enervate laws without repealing them, and furniſhed them with ſuch a variety of expedients for this purpoſe, that though the company loſt the benefit of their immunities, yet they were not taken away. The next ſtep was

[n] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 165, 166, 167, 168.

the forbidding the ſale of piece goods to foreigners, upon a ſuppoſition that, if they could not buy Indian manufactures from the French company, they muſt purchaſe thoſe of France; but, as they could not be forced to this, they bought none at all; and, as the company loſt her profit, ſo the nation loſt the whole produce of this branch of trade, and were much the greateſt ſufferers of the two. Then a high duty was laid upon raw ſilk, of which the company imported about ſeven thouſand weight a year; and, though this produced a great deal, yet that could not prevent an abſolute prohibition, under colour that this was prejudicial to the ſilk of France, though in fact the greateſt part of it was bought by foreigners for ready money; and thus, by miſtaking public ſpirit, thoſe who were then in power were continually undoing all that Mr. Colbert had been labouring to do; and therefore we need not at all wonder, that, after a ſhort gleam of proſperity, the affairs of the French Eaſt India company wore very quickly a more gloomy aſpect than ever, notwithſtanding all the pains taken by the intelligent perſons in the direction to ſet theſe points in a clear light [o].

The great diſtreſs of the company's affairs, notwithſtanding all the helps that have been given them.

The war that broke out in 1691, as it deeply affected the whole commerce of France, ſo it was particularly fatal to that of their Eaſt India company, which was already in ſo indifferent a condition as to be ſcarce able to ſupport itſelf under the hardſhips which it ſuffered at home, without the addition of other attacks from abroad; and thoſe by powers ſo infinitely ſuperior in force, as to be able to complete, almoſt as ſoon as they had formed, the deſign of its deſtruction. They loſt, as the reader will ſee hereafter, the only place of conſequence they had in the Eaſt Indies, which they recovered again by the peace of Ryſwick; but their affairs were then in ſo miſerable a condition, that, though the directors reſolved to make their utmoſt efforts to reſume their trade as a company, yet they found that it would be ſo long before they would be in any condition to bring about what they deſired, that they very willingly accepted, in the mean time, a propoſal for carrying on the trade to China by a private perſon, under the authority of the company [p] (P).

This

[o] Hiſtoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 81, 82, 83. [p] Geographie Moderne, par Abrahaim du Bois, p. 646. Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 182, 183.

(P) The reader will be certainly ſurpriſed at various inconſiſtencies that are viſible enough in the text; ſuch as, that

This was effected by granting a licence, which was likewise confirmed by the crown, to one Mr. Jourdan, a rich merchant, who fitted out a very large ship, called the Amphitrite, for that voyage, which sailed in March, 1698, and returned safely to France on the 3d of August, 1700, very richly laden. The success of this voyage encouraged the

A new China company arises out of a licence granted by this company to a private merchant.

that the company should have servants in the Indies, with factories, forts, and garrisons, and yet carry on little or no trade: that they should be continually applying to the court for new favours when the old had produced so little effect; and that, in the course of so many assemblies of the proprietors, the true origin of all these evils should not be traced out; but, to speak impartially, though there might be, and very probably was, cause for some blame, yet both the directors at home, and those intrusted with the company's affairs abroad, rather deserved pity. The major part of the time their establishment subsisted, the crown of France was engaged in wars prejudicial to the commerce of her subjects in general, and more especially destructive to those who were embarked in this undertaking. In those short intervals of peace, which gave them time to look about them, they were certainly not idle; and their servants made them very large returns, which brought in immense sums of money at their sales, which might have given them an opportunity of retrieving things, if the proprietors could have been persuaded to have patience; but the sight of so much money excited a desire of receiving dividends, which, not to call it unjust while they were in debt, was at least very inconvenient. However, in 1687, and in 1691, they made dividends to the amount of thirty per cent. which put it out of their power to send proper cargoes to the Indies, where their servants had borrowed large sums, and bought vast quantities of goods upon credit. The directors were forced to make use of the same methods at home, the proprietors, who were so ready for dividends, being very backward in paying calls. Add to all this, that the magnificence with which the company set out, and which it was judged inexpedient for her to let fall, absorbed very large sums. Grievous disappointments, debts at a large interest, and bad œconomy, kept on to prevent a suspicion of worse, are principles so naturally productive of declension and destruction, that the reader can no longer wonder the French East India company was reduced to great extremity; but will be rather amazed that she was still able to creep on, when nothing came in for the present to their directors, and had no better fund for their future expectations than flattering hopes (1).

(1) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii, p. 193, 194.

merchant before mentioned, and those who were concerned with him, to fit out the same ship again; and this they accordingly did in the following spring, and she returned in the month of September, 1703, with as great profit as from her former voyage, though she narrowly missed being shipwrecked, falling down the river of Canton, at her return [q]. The success of these voyages, one would have thought, might have established this new company; but the general war in which France was then engaged against most of the princes of Europe, rendered it impracticable; and thus the actual powers of the company lay dormant again, though she was still possessed of its rights, which extended to the coasts of China, Tonquin, Cochin-China, and the isles adjacent [r].

They exert themselves to the utmost, in order once more to raise a fund to trade on their own bottom.

While the China commerce was thus let out, as it were, in farm, the directors exerted themselves as far as they were able, in hopes of restoring their affairs in the Indies; but, finding that absolutely surpassed their abilities, they were forced to apply themselves to the court in the beginning of 1701; and to confess, that they were again under such difficulties, that, without his majesty's gracious assistance, their trade and establishments must be let fall [s]. Lewis XIV. who retained the maxims which Mr. Colbert had so often impressed upon his mind, lent them eight hundred and fifty thousand livres, upon condition that the directors advanced each forty thousand livres, and the proprietors fifty per cent. upon their respective capitals. With this condition the directors complied; but the proprietors, or, as they are called in France, the actionists, absolutely refused it. Their refusal occasioned a warm and tedious dispute, which was not ended till the year 1704, when the court decided by an arret, that the proprietors should receive the profits, and be liable to the debts of the company in proportion to their respective interests in its capital: that a general state of their affairs should be immediately laid before them, and that they should be allowed to choose a committee of five out of their own body, without whose consent, the directors should be restrained from borrowing [t]. It does not appear that this regulation had any good effect; for in 1708 they became in a manner absolute bankrupts; so that the king,

[q] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes. p. 93. [r] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii p. 193, 194. [s] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1049. [t] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p 85.

by

by an arret, stayed all prosecutions at law against them for debt; and, that the trade to the Indies might not entirely cease, granted his permission for the company to enter into a treaty to lease out their privileges upon the best terms they could, to any private persons who should be inclined to contract with them [u].

But finding that impracticable, have recourse to the former method of granting licences.

In pursuance of this scheme, and the concession before mentioned, they granted leave to Mr. Croizat to fit out two ships in the name of the East India company, upon condition that he paid them fifteen per cent. upon all the goods imported under this privilege, and two per cent. upon all the prizes they should make beyond the line; with a farther reservation, that the company might be at liberty to bring home, on board his ships, ten ton of whatever commodities they pleased, without paying freight. It is reasonable to believe, that they found from this expedient some relief, which induced them to extend their project; and, for the preservation of their servants in the Indies, who by this time were above ten millions in debt, they sacrificed themselves: for, in the year 1712, they entered into a treaty with some private traders at St. Maloes, by which they yielded up to them all their privileges as a company, upon the best terms they could obtain; and this with a view to supply such as were employed by them in the Indies with sums sufficient to keep under the interest of their debts, and thereby prevent all things from falling into confusion [w]. A miserable situation this, and yet the company found themselves unable to undertake any thing upon their own bottoms; so that on the expiration of their own privileges, by the elapsing of their term about the time of the king's death, they warmly solicited a renewal of them, not from any hopes of reviving their trade, but purely with an intention to renew their agreement with the merchants of St. Maloes, that they might gain so much as might preserve their settlements, and not suffer such as they had employed to be utterly undone in their service [x]. This naturally leads us to the Indies, where we shall resume the history of the French affairs, from the miscarriage of their design upon the island of Ceylon, down to the same period we arrived at in the history of the company, that is, to the determination of the fifty years granted by the original edict of creation.

[u] Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. iii. p. 185.
[w] Ibid. p. 193, 194. [x] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 8.

SECT. IV.

History of the Company's Concerns in the Indies; Manner in which they acquired the Town and Fortress of Pondicherry; Description of that Place, and every Thing belonging to it; Pains taken to preserve and fortify it. Excellent Behaviour of those intrusted with the Company's Affairs in the East, by whom all their Possessions are maintained, and some Degree of Credit kept up abroad, though wholly lost at home.

An account of the company's affairs in the Indies, and in what manner they acquired Pondicherry.

IN the very beginning of the year 1674, Messieurs Baron and De la Haye, directors of the French East India company, finding themselves blocked up in the city of St. Thomas, with the small remains of that large force which had sailed from France on the expedition against Ceylon, and foreseeing that it would be impracticable for them to hold out long, resolved to procure, if possible, a safe retreat. For that purpose they employed Mr. Martin to treat with Chircam Loudi, governor of the adjacent country for the king of Visapour, who had shewed himself at all times a friend to their nation, for any place that he should judge proper to answer this necessary end[y]. Accordingly Mr. Martin repaired to Pondicherry, and found no great difficulty in obtaining leave from the governor to fix there upon reasonable terms. The town of St. Thomas being surrendered, the two directors marched thither with their small forces, where they continued till the beginning of May, and then left Mr. Martin in possession of the place, with a garrison of sixty men, exclusive of those on board the Vigilante frigate, which remained in the road; intrusting him likewise with the money and effects belonging to the company, which were pretty considerable[z]. Mr. Martin, considering that this wealth was of no service to him, and the danger to which he might be exposed with so small a garrison, if it remained in his possession, very wisely lent the greatest part of it to his friend Chircam Loudi, at the interest of one and a half per cent. per mensem; by which he made him his fast friend, and also procured wherewith to support his garrison without break-

[y] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 213. [z] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 790, 791.

ing

ing in upon the capital. He then wrote an account to the company of his situation; and that, if they had any demand for piece goods, they might be as conveniently furnished from thence with those manufactures, to the amount of two hundred thousand crowns a year, or more, as from any other place upon the coast. This was the most agreeable intelligence at that juncture he could have sent, and suited exactly with the report they had received from their directors at Surat; that, considering how small a force they had in the Indies, they could not form an establishment any where more safely or more commodiously than at Pondicherry [a].

The soil or inheritance of Pondicherry purchased of the king of Visapour.

It was for these reasons that the French East India company directed Mr. Martin to procure that place for them on the best terms he could; with which order he complied exactly. This gentleman obtained from the before mentioned governor, who first gave him leave to settle there, a licence to fortify and to secure his people and effects; a permission, of which he immediately took advantage, and settled, under the protection of his factory, a little Indian village of about forty houses, in which those who wrought for the company lived quietly and happily. Things had not remained long in this condition before he found his small establishment threatened with total ruin; for the famous Seva-Gi falling, with a vast force, into that part of the country, endeavoured to overwhelm him, as a dependent upon his enemies. However, Mr. Martin supplied by prudence what he wanted in force; and, by a timely application, brought about a treaty, which was managed on his side by an Indian prince, whose friendship he had secured, which ended in a licence from Seva-Gi to trade in his dominions, for which he paid one thousand six hundred rupees. This was in the year 1680; and he had the year before purchased the territory of the king of Visapour, whose inheritance it was; so that now he was tolerably secure, only he was apprehensive that the son of Seva-Gi, who was become sovereign of the place by right of war, might take it amiss if he presumed to raise a regular fortification without his consent; which he obtained in 1689, and then put it in a posture of defence [b].

This settlement taken by a powerful fleet and army employed by the Dutch.

This was a very timely provision; for the Dutch began to be extremely disturbed at the flourishing condition of this little colony, and offered very large presents to the Ra-

[a] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 213, 214, 215.
[b] Memoires dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num 1.

jah, in whose dominions it lay, in case he would dispossess the French: but the Indian prince, who was also son to Seva-Gi, rejected these offers with contempt: he said, "the French had fairly purchased that settlement, for which they paid a valuable consideration, and that therefore all the money in the world should never tempt him to dislodge them." The Dutch, however, resolved to carry their point; and the war having broke out between them and France, they made dispositions for attacking it by force in 1693, when they came before the place with a squadron of nineteen sail, and landed an army of between two and three thousand men, with a fine train of artillery, and six mortars. To make their conquest the surer, they applied to the new rajah, who was not of the same temper with the last; and, for about twenty thousand pounds of our money, purchased the whole district. They then invested and attacked the place; which, after a good defence, Mr. Martin, who was still director-general for the French East India company, surrendered, upon very honourable conditions, on the 6th of September, 1693 [c].

Upon the restitution of it, the director-general Martin puts Pondicherry into a good state of defence.

This stroke, which seemed to put an end to the company's authority in those parts, proved, in its consequences, the happiest event that ever befel them; for the Dutch were no sooner in possession of the place, than they raised new walls, erected seven regular bastions, and whatever else was necessary to render it one of the completest fortresses in the Indies, on account of its excellent situation. In 1696, upon the conclusion of a general peace, the place was restored to the French, who thereby acquired the property of Pondicherry, and all those fine new fortifications, for so trifling a sum as five thousand pounds, which they paid to the Dutch governor, upon his delivering up all that he possessed; which probably he never would have done, if he had not been compelled thereto by the orders of the States General, who, as they were great gainers by that peace in Europe, would not perplex themselves with the disputes between the two companies [d]. As soon as the news of this surrender was brought into France, the East-India company received orders from the government to put that place into such a condition, as that, in case of a second war, they might not lose it as they had done before. A squadron was sent from France, with two hundred regular troops for the augmentation of the

[c] Memoire dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num. 1.
[d] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 791.

garrison,

garrison, several able engineers, a vast quantity of military stores, and whatever else was requisite to secure Pondicherry from any future attempts of the Dutch. The sieur Martin was again entrusted with the command of the place, which, in the space of four or five years he so changed, that it was scarcely to be known. He not only completed the fortifications according to his instructions, and assembled a good garrison of between seven and eight hundred men, but built a hundred new houses, and laid out a regular plan for a large town, into which, by his own prudence and good management, he drew, within the space of five years, more than fifty or sixty thousand inhabitants; so that in the year 1710, it was become one of the most considerable places in the Indies in the hands of the Europeans; and if the affairs of the company in Europe had kept pace at all with the improvements made by this gentleman in the Indies, the French company in point of trade, might very soon have been in some measure upon a level with their neighbours the English and Dutch [e].

The town enlarged, and a new wall erected round it.

However, this was so far from being the case, that both this gentleman, and succeeding governors, were obliged to find means to support themselves, the factory and town, by the trade carried on in it, and by the industry of the Indians settled there; in which they were so fortunate, that while the company was daily declining, every thing carried the face of plenty and prosperity there, and none knew or felt any difficulty but the governors and their council, who yet were never tempted to oppress the people with taxes, or to endeavour to make their own circumstances easier by laying part of the load upon others. It is true, that when the town grew too large for the old fortification, it was found necessary to surround it with a new wall; but how clear soever that necessity was, and however advantageous for the people, such an improvement might be, yet the governor found it absolutely impracticable to defray the expence without the assistance of the inhabitants. In order to procure this he acted with equal integrity and caution; for having first ordered the wall to be marked out, and part of it to be erected at each end, he thereby shewed his people at once the advantages which would be derived from such a fortification, and the expences that would attend it; so that when, in order to complete his design, he imposed upon the inhabitants a

[e] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 247.

capitation

capitation tax of two pence a month, they were satisfied as to the end, and the sum raised by this imposition; and therefore, instead of murmuring or complaining, they paid it with the greatest chearfulness, and gave the governor hearty thanks for the care he had taken of their interest [f]. As we have shewn by what course of events this fortress of Pondicherry became the chief seat and capital residence of the French East India company, it will be necessary to give the reader a more particular description of the place.

A particular description of the town, fortress, and magazines.

The town of Pondicherry is situated in the province of Gingy, on the coast of Coromandel, in the latitude of 12 deg. north, and in the longitude of 100 deg. 30 min. that is, 78 deg. east from the meridian of Paris. It stands at the distance of a hundred yards from the sea-shore, and has nothing more than a road before it, so that they are obliged to carry all their goods in boats for a full league [g]. The magazines of the company, and of private persons, are both numerous and magnificent. They have a large and beautiful market-place, six fine gates, and eleven bastions for the defence of the walls, a regular citadel well fortified, upwards of four hundred cannon upon their works, besides a good train of field pieces, bombs, mortars, and other military stores, in their arsenal [h]. The governor has a very fine house, with convenient offices, and whatever else is requisite for the service or credit of the company. On the west side of the town the company have a fine garden, beautifully laid out, into public walks, and whatever else may contribute to the satisfaction and pleasure of the better sort of inhabitants; adjoining to which garden there is a fine house richly furnished, made use of for the reception of foreign princes and ambassadors, who, whenever they resort thither, are treated with infinite respect, and all their expences defrayed by the company [i]. The other public buildings consist of a large convent of the Jesuits, where they have usually twelve or fifteen priests, who, besides officiating in that character, keep school, and instruct the children of the inhabitants in reading, writing, mathematics, and whatever else may be of use in civil life; for, as to the learned languages, they trouble not themselves about them, and

[f] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 791. [g] Journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par Monsr. du Quesne, tom. ii. p. 161, 162. [h] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 253, 254. [i] Voyage dans les Indes Orientales, par Lullier. p. 97, 98, 99.

indeed

indeed they would be of little service in this part of the world. There are, besides that of the Jesuits, two other convents, but not so considerable by any means as the former, which is the case throughout the Indies [k].

The great extent, and yet exact regularity of the place, with the number of houses and people.

The houses of the town are as regularly laid out as if it had been all built at once, though it is now near four leagues in extent. The Europeans build with brick; but the Indians, and other nations, use only wood, in that manner which we call lath and plaister; for the latter they have the best in the world, composed of all sorts of shells ground to powder, and wrought up into a kind of paste, which, when exposed for some time to the air, becomes altogether as white, and almost as hard as stone. These houses are only one story high, and are usually eight yards in front, and six in depth, and very indifferently lighted. Their roofs are all flat for the conveniency of lying upon them, which they do almost naked, agreeable to the custom of the country; for Pondicherry, lying in the torrid zone, is extremely hot, though the climate is found by experience very wholsome. It never rains, except seven or eight days at most, towards the end of October. The native Indians, or, as they are called here, Gentiles, or Gentoos, are most of them weavers or painters; and though the best workman cannot earn above two pence a day, yet upon this he is able to subsist himself, his wife, and his children, their principal food being rice boiled in water, or wrought up into a paste, and baked upon the coals. The adjacent country is extremely well cultivated, and produces rice in abundance; so that there is hardly a place in the Indies of greater plenty, or where they have flesh, fish, and fowl, on more reasonable terms; although they have no other water than what is derived to them from the overflowing of the Colram, and other great rivers, which they preserve in lakes or ponds, and draw for use through their plantations in artificial canals, after the same manner as in Egypt [l].

Magnificence of the governor on particular occasions.

The governor, who is also director-general for the company, as he is lodged in a fine palace, so, on all public occasions, he makes a figure suitable thereto in every respect. He has twelve horse-guards cloathed in scarlet laced with gold, and an officer, who has the title of captain, commands them. He has also a foot guard of three hundred men, natives of the country, called Peons; and,

[k] Memoire dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num. 1.
[l] Idem ibid.

when

when he appears in public, he is carried in a palankin, very richly adorned with gold fringe. But all this pomp and state is displayed only on proper and particular occasions, upon the receiving of princes and ambassadors; at other times his guards are employed in the necessary service of the company, and earn to the full the wages they are paid; for there are very few settlements better regulated than this, which the reader will more easily believe when he is told that, according to the last account taken of the inhabitants of this place, there appear to be in it no less than a hundred and twenty thousand Christians, Mohammedans, and Gentiles; a thing altogether incredible, if the fact was not supported by testimonies not to be disputed. There cannot be a place better seated for trade than Pondicherry, being in the midst of the European settlements on the coast of Coromandel, and having all the bay of Bengal open before them; so that the company's magazines are full of all the commodities and manufactures not only of the coast of Coromandel, but of other parts of the Indies, as Bengal, Surat, and the coast of Malabar, as also of such as are imported from Persia, and the coasts of the Red Sea; and here likewise are their warehouses for all sorts of European commodities, which are conveniently transported from thence, as occasions require, to the several markets of the Indies[m]. The staple trade, however, of the place is esteemed to be piece goods, of which the finest are made in the neighbouring kingdom of Golconda, and the best painted here; they likewise have great quantities of silk raw and manufactured, gold and silver brocades, perfumes, spices, and diamonds, in which they are said to have made a great progress of late, and for which it is certain, they are very conveniently situated, as being at a small distance from the finest mines in the Indies (Q). The French East India

[m] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 750. Memoire dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num 1.

(Q) We are told that the Jesuits drive a greater trade in jewels than either the English, French, Dutch, or Danes; and it is very positively asserted, that, using the dress, language, and the customs of the Banyans, they frequently travel to the diamond mines with them, and make large purchases upon the spot. It may seem a little strange how these reverend fathers get their stones to Europe; but, with respect to this, we have a very singular story from a man of honour,

India company, therefore, can neither be blamed for their choice of this reſidence, which, all things conſidered, is the fitteſt for them of any in the Indies; or for the pains and expence they have beſtowed about it, amounting in the whole, about forty years ago, to about eight hundred thouſand livres, or forty thouſand pounds ſterling: ſince they have rendered it ſo ſtrong and ſo commodious, that it might eaſily drive ten times the trade they ever had in this part of the world [n].

The great inconvenience of wanting a port.

One diſadvantage it has, and that too very conſiderable, which is, the want of a port; for there is, as we have more than once obſerved, only a road before Pondicherry, and that none of the beſt, the flux and reflux of the ſea is not above a foot or two at the moſt, the landing very difficult and troubleſome, ſhips not being able to come within a leſs diſtance than half a league of the place; ſo that

[n] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 61, 62.

honour, and of their own communion, which will at once inſtruct and entertain the reader. Theſe reverend perſons, conforming to the mode of the country, wear the Portugueſe ſhoes, with large wooden heels; and it ſo fell out that a Moor, whom they had converted at Surat in a pious fit of humility, was very deſirous of cleaning theſe holy men's ſhoes: but being apprehenſive that the fathers would not permit it if he deſired their leave, he with great ſecrecy took away two pair of ſhoes, and, retiring to a private place, fell to rubbing them very aſſiduouſly. He had not been long at his labour before he heard ſomething rattle in their heels, which the poor ſuperſtitious creature took for an evil ſpirit; and roared out ſo violently, that the Portugueſe came to ſee what was the matter, to whom he told his ſtory; upon which this old Chriſtian, who was better acquainted with the Jeſuits than the Moor, ripped off the heel-pieces, and took out four neat iron boxes, made exactly in the form of wooden heels, in which were twenty rough diamonds of great value. The reverend fathers being informed of what had happened, applied themſelves to the Portugueſe; and partly by threatening him with the inquiſition upon his return to Goa, partly by good words, and a reaſonable preſent in ready money, recovered their diamonds; but the Moor made ſuch a noiſe about the iron boxes and flint ſtones, as he took them to be, that all the traders of Surat were let into this ſecret, and the Jeſuits in all probability obliged to have recourſe for the future to ſome new invention (1).

(1) Journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par du Queſne, tom. iii. p. 123, 124, 125.

every

every thing, with respect to lading or unlading must be performed by boats always, with much trouble, and very often not without danger; yet even this situation, or rather this disadvantage in its situation, was very serviceable during the time that the sieur Martin was director-general there; since, if the landing had not been both difficult and dangerous, the place, no doubt would have been taken and demolished in the last general war, during the reign of Lewis XIV. as well as in the first, or battered or bombarded by the English and Dutch fleets; for we must put the reader in mind, that notwithstanding we have proceeded in the description of Pondicherry almost as low as the present times, that we might shew its augmentations and improvements at one view, yet we are advanced in our history no farther than the beginning of the present century, at which time the sovereign council of the Indies, as it is called, was suppressed at Surat, because indeed it could subsist there no longer, and that swelling title conferred on those who had the direction of the company's affairs at Pondicherry, which was made the seat of the director or governor-general of the French company by letters patent, dated in February, 1701, by which the factories at Ougli, Ballezor, Kasumbazar, Cabripatan, Masulipatan, and others, in the kingdoms of Bengal and Golconda, were put under its direction, which, though it might seem an augmentation of honour and power, was in truth a new burden upon those who had the management of the company's affairs for above twenty years °.

How the governor, garrison, and the company's servants, supported themselves in this place.

In this space of time, her affairs were continually declining from bad to worse, so that it is really matter of amazement how the servants of the company contrived to keep so many places, not only with very little but almost without any assistance. The cheapness of the country, and their entertaining for the most part natives in their service, were favourable articles. To these they joined what little trade they carried on to the adjacent ports in the Indies; they likewise availed themselves in their distress, by making up cargoes for the English ships, who bought without scruple where they could have them cheapest; then came the private traders with the company's licence, whom they also supplied: but all these contrivances could not keep them out of debt, or even help them to sums sufficient to keep down their interest, and thereby preserve some little credit to serve them upon emergencies; insomuch that

° Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. iii. p. 182, 183, 184.

they

they were pitied by the wiser and better sort, and laughed at and contemned by the generality of the rest of the European nations, who saw with no small satisfaction how mean a figure the French made in the east, and with what inexpressible trouble they maintained factories that turned to no manner of advantage [p].

An extraordinary instance of probity in those who were then intrusted.

One circumstance, however, was very remarkable. The company, which had been plundered and abused while she had funds, and was able to send supplies, was now served with great integrity, and with all imaginable diligence, when there was no other reward to be hoped for than fair words, and ample acknowlegements of their honour and fidelity. It is also worthy of notice, that all this time the town of Pondicherry was gradually increasing, from four or five hundred inhabitants, to between seventy and eighty thousand, merely from the mildness of the government, and the personal virtues of the Sieur Francis Martin, the founder of this settlement, and who lived to see it, and all that depended upon it, in a flourishing condition, while himself and his masters would have thought it a great felicity to have been barely even with the world, and not worth a groat. Some expectations, no doubt, they had upon the peace; but when they found that this produced nothing, and that it was not altogether certain whether the company had interest enough to procure a longer term, we may very reasonably believe that they lost all hopes, and began to apprehend that they should be abandoned in the same manner that some of the Portuguese colonies were, when the affairs of that nation fell into confusion [q].

How many and great advantages accrued to the company from this circumstance.

But as the seeds of destruction are often sown, and take deep root, in the time of apparent prosperity, so penetrating people have been of opinion, that the French commerce would have never lifted its head again in the Indies but for certain advantages which accrued to the company in this time of her humiliation; for, as they never had any power, from the time of their settling at Pondicherry, but what was produced by their address, this hindered that fierceness and haughtiness from appearing which quickly renders the French nation suspected, and in process of time insupportable, in foreign countries. By their remaining for so many years in this depressed condition, which obliged them to study the tempers of different princes, and

[p] Lockyer's Account of the Trade in India, p. 277, 279. 286.
[q] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 247.

the

the disposition of various nations, they really acquired a settled habit of affability, moderation, and equity. They shewed all possible respect to the Indian kings and princes, their neighbours, and to all their great officers who came into those parts with forces; by which they obtained the friendship of all, and very singular marks of esteem from some of them [r]. They frequently did good offices both to the natives and to the Europeans, by which they acquired the good will of the former, and softened the resentment of the latter; who, making use of them in their factories, as agents and brokers, not only forbore giving them any disturbance, but also gratified them for their services. They protected the people who had settled under the fortress of Pondicherry, the works of which they were continually improving, and kept parties constantly abroad to scour the roads from banditti, marauders, and other plunderers, with which the country was infested. By these means they attracted a sober, harmless, and industrious race of people, to settle in their territory, where they were sure of enjoying in peace the fruits of their labour, though these seldom rose higher than a bare subsistence, with which, however, they were easy and contented [s].

Who by this conduct gain a very high reputation with the inhabitants of the country.

By this manner of living in the Indies for the space of full fifty years, they attained, and that very deservedly, a fair reputation, their fortress and their vigilance securing them from surprizes or oppression, as their poverty defended them from envy, and their politeness from those insults to which otherwise that would have exposed them. Yet these were but inconsiderable benefits in comparison of that knowlege they acquired of the interior part of the Indies, by the facility which their intercourse with the natives gave them in passing from one court to another. In this space of time there were multitudes bred up amongst them who had a more perfect acquaintance with the inland traffick, the places from whence the richest goods came, and where the best manufactures were made, than could possibly be obtained by those who resided always in their own settlements, and who had not either the opportunities or the temptation to undertake any such new journies. Many in quality of itinerant merchants and jewellers found means to pick up small fortunes; and, returning into Europe on board the English or Dutch ships, became after-

[r] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 280. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 103. [s] Memoire dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num. 1.

wards

wards the instruments of that private trade which was carried on by the company's licence at St. Malo's. All these, though circumstances very little considered at a time when the company's affairs were so low, that they were constrained to lease their privileges to save their servants from starving, yet contributed afterwards to the carrying on the affairs of their trade with more ease, less expence, and consequently larger profit, than that of any other nation trading to the Indies[n].

SECT. V.

The State of the Company's domestic Situation at the Time of the Demise of Lewis XIV. On what Terms, and with what Views, the Regent Duke of Orleans took up the Concerns of this and other Companies; and what were the real Ends proposed by that Consolidation to which he gave the sounding and specious Title of the Union, that a Revival of Credit might in some measure result from the Name.

The domestic history of the French East India company resumed from this period.

WE must now return again to France, from the history of their difficulties abroad to that of their endeavours at home. Upon the demise of Louis the Fourteenth, the founder of this company, and their kind protector and patron, the administration of affairs devolved upon, or at least was assumed by the Duke of Orleans, with the title of Regent; a prince of great parts, and who, at his entrance on the government, affected whatever might procure him the character of being a lover of peace, a friend to the people, and the guardian of commerce. To him, therefore, as was natural, the distressed company applied for an additional term; the renewal of their privileges in that state in which they stood, was all that they desired; to have them augmented, was what they never hoped; for though, before the death of the king, they had obtained a prolongation for ten years, to be accounted from the first of May, 1715, yet this, like most of the royal favours they had received, was of very little use, since they had no funds left for carrying on their commerce; and, besides, the new term was so short, that it added very little to their credit at home or abroad. It was from the duke regent

[n] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369.

that they expected more solid assistance, and such helps from the treasury as might enable them to revive their trade. But the regent and his ministers entertained sentiments quite opposite to those the company had flattered themselves with. Instead of being at all inclined to part with money for other people to employ in trade, they were contriving how to make use of the sound and reputation of commerce to fill the king's coffers, to pay off the debts of the crown, and to discharge the loads which lay on the government, and upon the shoulders of the nation, by that series of contrivances which are still known in France by the name of *the system*[w].

How the regent Duke of Orleans made this and other companies subservient to his schemes.

It was with this view that the regent shewed so much favour and kindness to the West India company, and established its capital at one hundred millions, and thereby procured an opportunity of lessening that immense quantity of incumbrances which the long war had made necessary: but when the East India company came to represent the condition they were in, and sue for assistance, they soon found that they had to do with those who understood their affairs as well as themselves; and therefore, instead of governing them, as they had done former ministers, they were forced to put themselves entirely into their hands, and trust to their generosity and discretion. The consequence of this step was very probably what they had not foreseen, since it proved to be the dissolution of the company in effect, by uniting them with that of the West Indies, which also swallowed up others; and this with a view of immediate benefit to the government, and perhaps a remote prospect to the advantage of the East India commerce, the state of which was now laid open to the very bottom, and the whole brought to public view, that the world might be induced to believe the squandering such large sums, the feeble progress, and at length absolute decay, of their traffick, was owing to mismanagement; which being corrected, a correspondence with the East Indies might become as beneficial to France as it evidently was to England or Holland. If we consider this revolution in the company's affairs, and the dissolution of their privileges, in a strict and absolute sense, we must look on the new establishment as the fifth East India company erected in France; but if reflecting upon other circumstances, such as carrying over the effects and debts

[w] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 335. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 195.

of

of the old company to the new one, and some other particulars that will be hereafter mentioned, we are content to receive it in a more restrained acceptation, then it will be no more than a continuance of the old company, or at most a revival (S).

This

(S) In the latter part of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, when the public revenues of France were anticipated for several years; when the debts of the state were swoln so high, that new denominations were introduced into the computation, and they reckoned not only by millions, but milliards; and, when the wisest men thought all things most desperate, M. Desmaretz had the direction of the finances, who had been the disciple of Mr. Colbert, and, which posterity will hardly believe, found means, to the very death of his master, to maintain something like public credit: but, on the king's demise, he withdrew, and left the direction of all things to those enterprising spirits which the Duke Regent brought into employment. The first great measure they struck out was, a kind of political inquisition, by which all who had interfered in any manner with public money were called to a most rigorous examination; the very fear of which deprived many of their senses, and some laid violent hands upon themselves: yet, after all, this flaming tribunal produced nothing more than confusion, and the regent was forced to have recourse to milder methods. At this juncture Mr. John Law, a native of Scotland, who, by the exercise of his great abilities, had raised a considerable estate, offered his service; and proposed, with many improvements, a project which he endeavoured to set on foot in his own country twelve years before. His scheme was accepted; a new establishment erected, and prodigious quantities of old securities, being liquidated, were discharged by bank bills; which, in consequence of that establishment, and his management of it, had such an effect as could scarce have been expected. The Mississippi company, of which we shall speak particularly in the succeeding note, was next erected, which by degrees was to be charged with the whole foreign commerce of the kingdom, and the cash of this company was to be kept by the bank. This explains the theory of the system, which was so much magnified by the creatures of power, that, when this new company changed its title for that of the Indies, with an augmentation of its capital, the new actions sold for one thousand and forty per cent. and the old ones for eight or nine hundred livres more. Mr. Law was comptroller general of the finances, director of the bank, and inspector-general of the company of the Indies, so long as the rage of stock-jobbing prevailed; but when the bank-bills lost their credit, and the actions of the company began to decline, he was obliged to leave the kingdom privately,

In the preamble to the edict of union, the reasons for suppressing the old company are assigned.

This edict of union extinguished the title of both the West and East India companies, as well as of the rest of the societies comprised therein, and gave to the whole the comprehensive title of the company of the Indies [x] (T). In

[x] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 195, 196, 197.

after losing all his places. This rotation of things happened between 1717 and the close of 1720. There is no doubt that the principal, or at least primary view of the court, was, to free themselves in some measure from that load of debt which it was impossible to discharge; and, when this was in some degree effected, Messieurs Paris, and other antagonists of Mr. Law, contrived, as the reader will see in the text, the gradual delivery of the company of the Indies, and the establishing its trade upon a regular and practicable basis. We have in this note anticipated much of the succeeding history, in hopes of rendering so complicated an affair in some degree perspicuous (1).

(T) By the assistance of the East, or West India company, or both, several establishments were made on the coast of Africa, the French colony in Canada was preserved and augmented, several islands in the West Indies were settled, a part of Hispaniola or St. Domingo reduced, and at length a new establishment formed on the famous river of Meschasipi or Missisippi. This establishbishment struggled from about the year 1669 to the end of the last century, with almost insurmountable difficulties; and must have been at last utterly lost, but for the public spirit of the sieur Anthony Crozat, who, having acquired by many years indefatigable application to commerce a very large fortune, engaged in its support; and procured letters patent, dated September the 14th, 1712, by which he was enabled to undertake what he thought necessary for promoting the interests of his country in that part of North America which is now styled Louisiana, in which he was somewhat more fortunate than his predecessors. When therefore it was found necessary to the carrying one of the system to frame some new commercial settlement, to which the most dazzling advantages were to be ascribed, this was fixed upon, and the sieur du Crozat having resigned his letters patent which had still ten years to run, the king, by his edict dated in the month of August, 1717, and registered in parliament on the 6th of September following, erected a new trading society, under the title of Compagnie d'Occident, the company of the West, or, as it was commonly called, the Missisippi company, the capital of which, by an edict registered in parliament the last day of the

(1) Histoire du Visa, tom. i. p. 3. Histoire des Orientales, tom. iii. p 367.

year

In the preamble of this edict we have a succinct history of the transactions upon which this union was built; for therein it is said, that the king, having principally applied himself to the restoring the commerce of the kingdom, and thereby repairing the losses occasioned by a very long and expensive war; and, having already had the pleasure to see the circulation of money wonderfully quickened by the establishment of the West India company, his majesty had from thence been led to look into the state of the old companies erected before his accession to the throne, and in particular into that of the East India company, which he had found to be most deplorable. In the space of fifty years they had, notwithstanding repeated assistances from the crown, managed their affairs so indifferently, as to be obliged to abandon their commerce entirely, and to take up with such trifling advantages as could be obtained by letting out their privileges. The king declared he was satisfied that this want of success did not proceed at all from unsurmountable disadvantages in the nature of that commerce, but from the mistakes and ill conduct of such as had been intrusted with the management of the company's affairs, who, in the first place, had made their bottom too narrow, and had undertaken the traffick of the Indies upon too small a capital. That, in the second place, to keep up the credit of their own administration, and to countenance their taking such considerable salaries to themselves, they had made large dividends when there were no profits; and having, by these means, exhausted the company's stock, they carried on their trade by borrowing as much money as they could, at very high interest. That, however, the king his great-grandfather having always protected and encouraged this company, and even granted them a new term towards the end of his life, they might have en-

year before mentioned, was fixed at one hundred millions. To this company, besides the original concession of the country styled Louisiana, reduced into the form of a province, and described by that edict, there was quickly added the exclusive contract for castors or beavers skins from Canada; and, in 1718, the company of Senegal, and the slave trade; to which, in 1719, fell in likewise the East India and China companies, from the motives which are set forth in the text (1).

(1) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 195, 196. Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1065, 1066.

joyed it, or at least have drawn all the profits from it they could, if their conduct had not become so flagrantly bad that neither the glory of the king, nor the interest of his people, would permit him to overlook it any longer.

Exclusive grants made to the new company of the Indies.

On the one hand, there were continual complaints from the Indies, that the company had borrowed vast sums of the Gentiles, without paying them either capital or interest, having, in the space of sixteen years, not sent so much as a single ship to Surat. On the other, the private merchants carrying on this commerce in the name, and under the authority of the East India company, were so cramped and oppressed by the duty of ten per cent. and other gratuities to the company, that they were unable to pursue their trade with the same spirit and advantages which are enjoyed by the subjects of other nations; and, besides, being afraid to go to Surat, on account of the danger they were in of having their ships seized for the company's debts, they found themselves obliged to purchase most of the Indian commodities and manufactures, which they brought into Europe, from foreigners, at a very high price, and this equally to their own and the nation's disadvantage. For these reasons, and others of the like nature alleged against the China and African companies, his majesty declares, that the privileges of all those companies are by this edict, dated in the month of May, 1719, revoked, extinguished, and suppressed. He granted at the same time to the new company of the Indies an exclusive privilege of trading from the Cape of Good Hope to the utmost extent of the East Indies, as also to the islands of Madagascar or Dauphine, of Bourbon, and of France, the coast of Soffala in Africa, the Red Sea, Persia, the dominions of the Mogul, of the king of Siam, and of the emperors of China and Japan, as also of the South Seas, from the Streights of Magellan, or La Maire, to the East Indies that way; forbidding all the rest of his subjects these several routes, under pain of the confiscation of their vessels and effects [y].

In what manner the former companies were consolidated therewith, and their privileges continued.

He likewise grants to this company the possessions and effects of the other companies, at the same time charging them with all the just debts which those companies had contracted. The better to enable them to discharge those debts, and to carry on the vast trade granted them by this edict, he created in their favour twenty-five millions in new actions, to be purchased only for ready money, on the same terms that the West India company possessed one

[y] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 114.

hundred

hundred millions in actions, and with the like privileges and advantages in every respect. He likewise granted full licence and authority to import all sorts of manufactures of silk, silk and cotton, gold and silver stuffs, dyed cottons, as also painted and striped; on condition, however, that none of these shall be vended in his dominions, but be sold and disposed of to foreigners, for which reason they were to be deposited in magazines under double locks, the keys of one to be kept by the farmers-general, and the other by the directors of the company, for the better preventing frauds and collusions. He likewise grants them leave to import all sorts of white cottons, raw silks, coffee, drugs, spices, metals, and whatever else the India company might have imported under their privileges, arising from the several edicts of the late king his great-grand-father [z].

SECT. VI.

Upon the Incorporation of all the old trading Societies, the Grants formerly made are confirmed, extended, and made irrevocable, in the new one, which is therefore styled the Perpetual Company of the Indies.

THIS edict had all the effects that were expected. Such an eagerness appeared of subscribing to this company, that, instead of twenty-five, the subscription amounted to fifty millions, a circumstance which encouraged the French ministry to venture upon some new regulations, which were made public by an edict of the month of June in the same year; the principal of which was, that they should take off four times the number of old actions to be intitled to the new; so that, in order to purchase five thousand livres of the new actions, the subscribers were obliged to take twenty thousand livres of old ones. The great end the government proposed, was, to find the means of calling in and suppressing that immense quantity of paper-money which was such a burden on the state; and, to this end, annuities to the value of twenty-five millions were created; which not answering that intention, the new company of the Indies offered their assistance, and undertook to discharge them at the rate of fifty millions in every month; so that the whole load of this paper, amounting

All these declared irrevocable, and the new establishment, styled the perpetual company of the Indies.

[z] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 203, 204.

in the whole to near sixty millions of our money, was to be extinguished by the end of July, 1721 [y]. In consideration of the zeal manifested by the company in this proposal, the king was pleased, by his arret, dated in the month of July, 1720, to change the terms on which they held their privileges, and to declare them perpetual, restraining himself and his successors from ever treating them as other company's had been treated, in order to their establishment; and thus this company acquired that title by which they are now known in France; namely, the Perpetual Company of the Indies [z], with all the privileges of the other four companies confirmed to them for ever.

This new settlement considered necessarily in two different lights, viz. as annuitants and traders.

In two years more it was settled and declared, that, in consequence of the annuities granted and assigned to the company from the crown, they should be able to divide annually the sum of ten per cent. which should be paid punctually for ever; the directors were to be at full liberty to export and import what they thought proper, without being accountable annually to their constituents, because the dividends were to be regular and certain; and they were to manage things so, as that the deficiencies of one year might be made up by the profits of another. This last provision regards the East India trade, and not the value of the company's actions, considered as a kind of property to which an annuity from the public is annexed; for, according to this new model, the company of the Indies comprehended as well the public credit, by taking into a participation of her capital such as had claims upon the state, and all the extensive commerce of the kingdom; having not only all the power of the East India company, but also of the West India, and other suppressed companies erected in her [a]. In these two capacities the rule of conduct prescribed by the government was very different, and yet upon the whole very rational, or at least very plausible; for, as public creditors, they were enabled to pay a fixed and settled dividend upon their actions; but, as a trading company, they were not bound to give any account, because at that time under very discouraging incumbrances, which it would require pains and time to overcome; and the dividends paid to the actionists in the mean time, though in another capacity, were thought sufficient to make them easy till the face of their commercial affairs should wear a

[y] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 1072. [z] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 209, 210. [a] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 111. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 210, 211.

better

better aſpect, and might bear to be exhibited without a veil [b].

It is not a little uncertain who was the real author of this new ſyſtem, very different from thoſe that were made uſe of to amuſe the French nation, and indeed all Europe, while that ſtrange humour of ſtock-jobbing laſted, which might be truly ſtyled a political madneſs, of which however the government availed itſelf highly, and, by the edict of union, drew out of that chaos without form or order this new and beautiful ſtructure, which has been ſo truly beneficial to the public credit and commerce of France. To the perfecting of this, however, ſome farther ſtrokes were found neceſſary, and were accordingly in due time very dexterouſly applied. The capital of the preſent company of the Indies was compoſed of the original capital of the Weſt India company, and of twenty-five millions added thereto upon the union of the Eaſt India company; but it was found requiſite, in order to ſettle all on a juſt foundation, that the king ſhould make a reviſion of the actions poſſeſſed by the proprietors of this company, in order to diſtinguiſh between ſuch as had acquired their property fairly, and by purchaſe, and ſuch has had thruſt themſelves into the company's books only to ſerve their own purpoſes by ſtock-jobbing. It was in conſequence of this reviſion that, by an edict in the year 1723, the king fixed the actions of this company to fifty-ſix thouſand, which formed a capital of one hundred and twelve millions for their dividend, upon which they had a yearly revenue aſſigned them of eight millions four hundred thouſand livres [c].

A new inſtance of the government's attention and regard for the company's intereſts.

By another arret in 1725, five thouſand of theſe actions were cancelled and burnt, ſo that the capital of the company was reduced to fifty-one thouſand actions, and their dividends ſecured by the annual payment of eight millions from the farmers-general of the farm of tobacco, the excluſive, perpetual, and irrevocable privilege, of vending which had been granted to the company in 1723, and confirmed to them in 1725, together with the profits ariſing from the furs imported from Canada; ſo that the fund for the payment of their annual dividends was as effectually ſecured as it was poſſible a thing of that nature could be in France [d]. As for the commerce of the Indies, it was aſ-

[b] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1073. Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 211. [c] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1080. [d] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom iii. p. 373.

ſigned

ſigned to them as a collateral advantage not to be touched for the preſent, but to be employed in ſtrengthening the funds for reſtoring and maintaining that important trade, diſcharging all the incumbrances thereon, and putting it in a condition to become as certain a ſecurity for the payment of ſtill higher intereſt to the proprietors than they have hitherto received; it is therefore no difficult thing to apprehend, that, upon ſo fair a proſpect as this, the actions of the company of the Indies roſe into higher credit both at home and abroad than any thing of that kind had ever done in France; more eſpecially when people found by experience, that dividends were regularly paid, and the funds upon which they were aſſigned certain and ſtable.

But to return to what is more properly our ſubject, and enquire how the commerce to the Eaſt Indies was bettered by theſe projects and contrivances. It is very certain that thoſe who were intruſted with the direction and management of the company's concerns had a far greater weight of buſineſs upon their hands than thoſe who had the care of the Eaſt India company's affairs. It was likewiſe very certain, that they acquired nothing by the grant of all that the other companies poſſeſſed, ſince they were charged at the ſame time with all their debts, which roſe to a much higher ſum than the value of their effects; and it was farther certain, that the purchaſe-money of their actions did not remain in the company's hands, but went into thoſe of the government, who indeed ſeemed to have a title to it from the funds eſtabliſhed for paying intereſt on the whole capital; yet, after all, this ſcheme was very well contrived, perhaps was the very beſt upon which the public credit and commerce of that kingdom could be eſtabliſhed [c].

Little or nothing could be done for ſupporting the trade to the Eaſt Indies but by the government, and therefore the French miniſters very wiſely thought it was as well to take it immediately into their own care, and to advance the ſums requiſite to maintain it, as to let other people manage it; and then from time to time to indemnify them from loſſes, which perhaps might proceed from their own management. With the like prudence they reflected, that, conſidering the ſtate of things at that time, immenſe ſums of money would be neceſſary to ſet them right; and that, if this came to be known, the proprietors would grow uneaſy and ſuſpicious, and therefore they took care

[c] Hiſtoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 154.

they

they should not be troubled with accounts which could be no hardship, while they received regularly a reasonable dividend; and, lastly, they foresaw, that when the commerce was put upon a proper foot, so that some profits arose from it, it would be highly requisite to suffer these to accumulate for some time, that a proper stock might be raised as well in Europe as in the Indies; which they knew could never be done if the proprietors had an insight into their own affairs, because a majority of them would be always for a present dividend, without troubling themselves about what might happen for the future; against all which evils they took care to be guarded, in a manner with which every body was pleased at first, because they had nothing immediately to hope, and because very few penetrated the meaning of those precautions, which, in another country, indeed, how just and necessary soever they might be, could not well have been taken [f].

The first assistances received from the treasury, and how applied at home and abroad.

But notwithstanding all these prudential methods, the ministry were very sensible, that, unless something was speedily done that might carry the aspect of reviving this trade, and reviving it with effect, suspicions would quickly arise, and murmurs speedily follow; and therefore, while they had money in their hands, they judged it best to enable the company of the Indies to do something extraordinary, so as to answer the high idea that had been conceived of the advantages that were to flow from this great revolution. Accordingly, towards the end of the year 1720, three ships were fitted out, which, besides carrying a large cargo of European commodities and manufactures, had on board a great quantity of silver in specie and bullion [g]. This step raised the credit of the company in Europe, and augmented the value of their actions. The ministry, however, who were extremely well apprised of the true state of things, could not flatter themselves with much hopes; they very well knew, that not only this, but much more must be done, only to put things in motion, to recover some little degree of credit, and restore honour to the nation, and respect to the French flag in the Indies. They set, however, the best face upon the matter they could, and treated the business as done when it was but just undertaken; the directors likewise ordered improvements to be made, and magazines to be erected, at Port L'Orient, as if vast returns were to be made; and though

[f] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 374, 375. [g] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1073.

this

this was a measure attended with expence, yet, as it might be some time or other necessary and useful, as well as for the present very expedient, they were fully enabled to act in a proper manner [h].

SECT. VII.

The great Efforts produced by these wise Regulations, which by Degrees brought about two Establishments which hitherto had been judged impracticable in France, an effectual Commerce with the Indies, and public Credit.

These have a great effect on their affairs in the Indies, which afterwards sink lower than ever.

AS those who were entrusted with the company's concerns in the Indies could know nothing of this mighty change in their affairs at home, so, when they received accounts of it, and those ships, they could not but be extremely astonished. These supplies, which exceeded their hopes; their wishes, their conceptions, came as it were out of the clouds; and, coming also backed with assurances of a regular correspondence for the future, it is easier to imagine than express how much they were transported. However, as they made an honest use of what they received, and began to discharge their debts in several parts of the Indies, the best part of it was soon absorbed, and consequently they were able to make but slender returns to Europe [i]. Their sanguine expectations met with a sudden and severe check; for the downfal of the system, as it was styled in France, happening soon after those ships sailed, the directors were disabled for two years from complying with their promises, or so much as sending a single ship; a delay which exposed their servants in the Indies to raillery and ridicule from other European nations, unhinged their credit again, and threw them into so sad a situation, that it may be truly affirmed the French were never in so bad a plight as in the year 1723, from the very time that they first settled in the Indies. Such strange and surprising changes, than which nothing can be more contrary to the nature of commerce, must have had a dismal effect; the rather, because the director at Pondicherry, and those who were intrusted with the management of other factories, could not, at that distance, have the least compre-

[h] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 867. [i] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1981, 1982.

hension

henſion of the cauſes of this conduct of their directors; and, after what had happened, could have very little, if any, confidence in their new maſters [k]. But, as there was no remedy, they were obliged to endure this evil, great as it was, as well as they could, comforting themſelves, if that phraſe may be properly uſed, that, let things take what turn they would at home, they could never be in a worſe way abroad than they were; but two ſhips arriving next year, and ſeven others in the ſpace of two years following, they began to recover both their courage and their credit, and found themſelves alſo in a capacity of making ſome, though not very conſiderable returns; but, however, theſe, ſuch as they were, had a good effect, and created a general opinion, both in Europe and the Indies, that the French trade thither would ſtill ſubſiſt, and turn to a better account than hitherto it had done [l].

An account of the true ſtate of the company of the Indies.

Yet, in the midſt of this ſeemingly ſettled and regular eſtabliſhment, the perpetual company of the Indies remained upon ſuch a foundation as nothing of the like nature ever ſtood upon before. This company had a vaſt capital, but nominal only; for in reality, and at the bottom, they were without funds; their commerce, as deſcribed, or rather preſcribed, by the edict of union, was beyond compariſon more extenſive than that of any trading company in Europe, and the means of carrying on this as much out of compariſon leſs. Beſides all this, there was another circumſtance no leſs extraordinary than the other two, which was, that the directors of this mighty company, whatever they might ſeem in the eye of the world, were really under direction themſelves, that is, they depended for inſtructions, ſhips, money, and every thing elſe, upon the miniſters of ſtate; and yet, to ſpeak from what time and experience have taught us, theſe very inſtances of weakneſs and inſtability appear to have been the ſources of all their good fortune. For the directors, in quality of that employment, having the capacity only of repreſenting the ſtate that things were in, and the neceſſities they were under, had no temptations to depart at any time from truth; with this additional check upon them, that if they did, it would have been certainly diſcovered, and themſelves removed. On the other hand, the miniſters of ſtate, knowing that their continuance in power muſt always depend upon the main-

[k] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.
[l] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1081, 1082.

tenance

tenance of public credit, took care to furniſh their directors with ſuch ſupplies as were requiſite to keep the machine of their commerce in conſtant motion, that the opinion which the public had entertained of the reſtitution of their affairs might be fortified from their progreſs. Thus this balance, which originally aroſe in ſome meaſure from neceſſity, and in ſome meaſure from accident, was more happy in it operations than any contrivance that could have been formed by human reaſon to anſwer theſe ends [l].

Which, preſerved and ſupported by the miniſtry, recovered.

It was in conſequence of this ſyſtem, procured by a prudent management of all occurrences, and a conſtant attention to every incident which either happened, or had a probability of happening, that things went on in this way fourteen years, during which ſpace ſometimes three, ſometimes four ſhips were ſent every year to the Indies, and the affairs of the company were, by theſe means, recovered and reſtored, though but ſlowly. They had ſtill great difficulties to ſtruggle with; for, in proportion as their commerce revived, their expences enlarged by their being obliged to re-ſettle their old factories, and to eſtabliſh new ones; ſo that in all this ſpace of time there was very little, if any, clear profit accrued from their trade. On the contrary, they ran ſome years into debt, but not, however, without proſpects of future advantages. But as the other trading nations in the Indies were entirely unacquainted with the ſecrets of the French commerce, ſo, judging by appearances only, they were full perſuaded that their trade was in a flouriſhing condition, becauſe they ſaw it viſibly extended, and the returns made to Europe far more regular, and at the ſame time more conſiderable alſo, than they had hitherto ever been. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, if they had gone on in the ſame manner, it would have been many years before they would have been able to ſupport themſelves, and carry on their trade upon their own bottom; for gradual ſupplies were ſtill neceſſary, and the continuance of peace enabled the miniſters to furniſh them, yet always in a frugal manner, and ſometimes ſparingly [m].

M Orry and de Fulvy grant them effectual aſſiſtance.

The directors, having the diſpoſition and management of theſe ſupplies, as well as of the returns from the Indies, were obliged to make the one go as far as it was poſſible, and the other riſe as high as they could; a conduct

[l] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1087.

[m] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369.

which

which contributed greatly to save appearances, and to keep things in tolerable order, though they could not help perceiving, and even remonstrating sometimes, that this was living merely from hand to mouth, and consequently mispending that season of tranquility, when, if ever, they might have an opportunity of retrieving their affairs: but in the year 1737, Messieurs Orry and de Fulvy being at the head of the finances of France, which they managed with surprising success, the company fell naturally under their care and protection. They saw plainly that larger supplies were necessary to extricate them from the difficulties under which they laboured; and therefore, having first made a strict enquiry into their affairs, and taken care to put them into the best order possible, they furnished them with such sums as were necessary for augmenting their commerce; so that in the short space of two years they doubled their returns, and in three years more brought them to thrice as much as they had formerly been. By this management their sales at Port L'Orient became regular and considerable, increasing in such a manner, that the public sale in the year 1742 produced twenty-four millions of livres, or about one million of our money; besides which, they reserved in their magazines goods to the value of four millions of livres more; and the first ships that arrived in 1743 brought home still a more valuable cargo. This extraordinary change in the company's affairs alarmed and amazed all Europe, but more especially the maritime powers, who saw, with infinite concern, a company, that but a few few years before was looked upon as sunk and destroyed, now rising into as high credit as any of their own [n]. But perhaps their concern would have been in some measure alleviated, if they had but so much as suspected that this prosperity was in a great measure artificial, and consequently much more in the power of accidents than, in all appearance, it seemed to be.

How much the care of this important company has influenced the system of French politics.

We may from hence discover what great benefits accrued to France from pursuing the maxims introduced by the regent, and which seemed to govern the court during the pacific administration of cardinal Fleury. We may likewise perceive what the real motives were, which, upon certain occasions produced so much real or pretended complaisance for the maritime powers, since, as the sequel will shew, any rupture with them must have exposed

[n] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369, 372.

this

this tender system to storms and tempests that it could not have sustained; and it helps us farther to understand, why the court of Versailles entered so easily into, and continued so steadily to prosecute whatever measures were thought necessary for procuring, first, the suspension, and then the suppression of the Ostend company. They knew that if this establishment prevailed, it must be at the expence of some other, and most probably of their own, as it was still the weakest, and in reality much weaker than either friends or enemies conceived.

By what means that salutary system came to be unwillingly relinquished by the French ministers.

We may very justly attribute to the same causes, at least in a great measure, that parsimony for which the cardinal was so much condemned in the war, which commenced in the year 1739, his indefatigable endeavours to procure a neutrality with one of the maritime powers, and to avoid a direct breach with the other; as foreseeing that this would not only be highly prejudicial to the commerce, and thereby lay open the weakness of France, but also bring to light the manner in which it had been for so many years sustained, as well as put it out of the power of the ministry to sustain it any longer. These considerations, which made no manner of impression upon those who preached up the king's glory, and his having it in his power to give law to Europe, were however intolerable to another race of men, who had the good of their country sincerely at heart, and thought the king's glory could never be provided for so well, as by rendering his subjects rich and happy; besides, they only could and did foresee what events would follow this spirit of giving law, and extending the French influence where its power could never reach, and where consequently they must trust to the honour of those who received their wages, whether they would earn them, or whether, in regard to their own interest, they would not manage matters so as to receive them as long as possible; which was an expence their treasury could not bear, and which must therefore quickly put it out of their power to make those annual payments which had been hitherto the only true and availing resource of their East India company.

But this alteration in their conduct being produced by necessity, was deferred as long as possible.

It was some time, however, after the last war began, before any suspicions of this kind reached the company or the public. On the contrary, the former exerted herself as if, in such an emergency, she thought it her duty to give her assistance to the latter. All this, however, was calculated to keep the true state of things as much concealed as possible, and the dividends being likewise regularly paid, the actions of the company were kept up very high

high, a circumstance which gave no small credit to the nation[o]. Nay, so far were the proprietors from having the slightest notion of the real state of things, that they disapproved the public spirit of their directors, speaking of the offers they had made for the king's service as a direct proof that the trade of the Indies was carried on for the benefit of the crown, contrary to the promises that had been made them[p]. This suspicion, having once got abroad, met with a general reception, at least amongst such as were interested in the company's stock, who were firmly persuaded, that if part of the produce of their vast sales had not been diverted to supply the expences of the government, their dividends might have been increased to fifteen, or even twenty per cent.; and from these surmises, instead of being thankful for what they had, and for all that had been done for them, they murmured that the directors kept every thing secret; that they were shut not only out of the management, but from the knowlege of their own concerns; and that, whatever benefit this mysterious conduct might be to the state, it did not alter the case with respect to them, who were deeply injured by it.

Constrained to open this affair to the proprietors of the East India company.

But the war with Great Britain increasing, the expences of France on the one hand, and lessening her income on the other, the secret at last came out, and Mr. Orry was forced to acquaint the directors of the East India company, that the king's affairs were in such a posture as would no longer permit him to supply the company in the manner he had hitherto done; so that now they were to stand upon their own bottom, and to carry on their trade for the future as well as they could[q]. This unexpected stroke demolished the whole fabric which had been raising for so many years, and reduced the actions of the company to eight hundred, from two thousand and upwards. The main cause of this reduction was, the proposition made by Mr. Orry to their directors, that either the proprietors should subscribe upon their actions, or suffer their dividends to be postponed for a certain time, or should come to some agreement amongst themselves for compounding these two methods, by advancing part in ready money, and allowing their dividends to go in discharge of the rest. The motive that obliged the ministry to this discovery, was the necessity of having money to carry on the East

[o] See the Paris Gazettes during the first years of the war. [p] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 375. [q] Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. cxvii. p. 497.

India trade, which they knew must be ruined even by a temporary stagnation; which money, since the crown could no longer furnish, it was necessary the proprietors should. But to this it was answered, that hitherto the proprietors had been no gainers by that trade, had no general accounts made up to them of it; and, according to the confession of the directors themselves, were to receive no such account if this accident had not happened, by which they asserted, that their properties had already lost one half of their value, and might very probably lose part of the other half; so that they were least in a condition to pay when this demand was made, which would have been sufficiently grievous even in the midst of peace, and when their actions were highest.

The ministers refute all the objections raised against their propositions.

Mr. Orry told them in return, that they had no reason to complain of the king or his ministers, who had hitherto supported this trade for their advantage, without their contributing to it at all: that, if they had received no profits from their trade, it was because no profits had accrued; and this not through any ill management, or because this commerce had not been carried on to great advantage, but by reason of that immense load of debts which lay upon them at their first establishment, and which the profits of the trade were to pay off; and the prodigious expence the company had been at, both in Europe and in the Indies, for putting their commerce on a solid and certain footing[r]: that to remove doubts upon this subject entirely, and that they might be satisfied of the truth of these particulars, a general account of their trade should be laid before them, by which they would see, that, though slowly, it had been continually improving, and that of late years especially it had thriven exceedingly[s]: from which also they might be satisfied, that even at present it was so far from being in a desperate condition, that, notwithstanding an immediate sum was necessary for carrying it on, yet there was no danger of their being called upon for another supply, since what was now asked would be sufficient to put the company into a condition to maintain itself without intrenching upon their dividends, which should for the future be as regularly paid as they had been in times past[t]. It is from this general account that strangers, as well as the proprietors, have come to so distinct a knowlege of their af-

[r] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 374. [s] Mercure Historique et Politique, ubi supra. [t] Histoire des Orientales, tom. iii. p. 375.

fairs,

fairs, since, had it not been for this unexpected accident, they would never have let the world into the truth of an affair which they had concealed with so much care for so many years, which nothing but necessity could force them to reveal, and which had such immediate bad effects as they very well foresaw it would; notwithstanding that, all things considered, the proprietors had less grounds to complain than they imagined; and, if their great expectations were defeated, they had at least the satisfaction of knowing that they had been better served all this time than their predecessors had ever been at any other; and, after all, there was a better prospect than ever, if they could but have a reasonable degree of patience, and bear with some kind of temper a misfortune that would admit of no other remedy than what the ministers proposed.

What consequences attended these declarations.

The worst consequence that attended this affair, with respect to the nation and the company, was, the letting all Europe see that this commerce was a thing not to be carried on in France, as in other countries, by a society of private persons incorporated by public authority, but must be directed, upheld, and managed by ministers, or at least in subordination to them; so that whereas in other countries trade supports the state, in this, on the contrary, trade cannot flourish, or even subsist, but from the attention, and through the assistance of the state[u]. As to the company, it shewed, that, notwithstanding appearances, it was very far from being upon a level with other companies, though never any of them in any country had been so much cherished, or received such supplies from the government that gave them being; yet, after all, this affair, which made so great a noise at the time, passed over easier than could have been expected; the proprietors, after a little murmuring, submitted to what they could not help; and, by the assistance of a few lotteries, were pretty well extricated from the difficulties brought upon them by this declaration[w]. To say the truth, their stock, even since the return of peace, has not risen so high as it was before; but then it has risen as high as could be expected, and the regularity of their sales and dividends has been again restored.

[u] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 157.

[w] See the Gazettes, and other periodical pieces since.

SECT. VIII.

The History of the Company's Proceedings in the Indies, and an accurate Account of their Settlements, and particularly of those two important Islands of France, while in the Hands of the Dutch, styled Mauritius, and of Bourbon.

The present state of the company in the Indies.

IT must be allowed, that, in the course of the war before last, the French government took particular care of the company's concerns in the Indies, and supplied them with a sufficient force not only to defend themselves, but to act offensively, as, on the other hand, the care of those intrusted with the direction of affairs, as well in the islands as in the Indies, manifested their zeal and diligence by the preservation of the places with which they were intrusted, though vigorously attacked. As we have now conducted this history from the earliest endeavours of the French to fix a correspondence with these remote countries, it remains only to describe their possessions in Africa, in the Indies, and in Europe, which have a reference to this commerce.

An account of the Isle of France.

We will begin our account of the places actually in the possession of the perpetual company of the Indies with a description of the Island of France, which seems to belong to this society in a peculiar manner, as not being included in the concessions made to any of the old East India companies.

The natural history of this island.

The Isle of France lies in the latitude of 20 and 21 deg. south, having the island of Bourbon, which is the nearest land, to the south-west; the island of Diego Ruys on the north-east; the Indian ocean directly open to the north; the great island of Madagascar, and the continent of Africa on the west; and the unknown southern continent on the east [x]. The climate is pretty warm, but notwithstanding very wholsome; the air serene, and very little exposed to hurricanes. The soil is, generally speaking, red and stony, the mountainous towards the sea-coasts, but within land there are many spots both flat and fertile. The whole extent of the island is about fifty leagues, and the form nearly circular. Some of the mountains are prodigiously high, and their summits covered with snow all the year round.

[x] Geographie Moderne, par Abraham du Bois, p. 818.

They

They make, however, no despicable appearance, as they are cloathed with trees of different kinds, that entertain the eye with perpetual verdure. The whole island is well watered, or at least there is no part but may be so, by the proper application of art and industry in its inhabitants [y].

Advantages and commodities.

This country produces all the trees, fruits, and herbs, which grow in this part of the globe, and in great plenty; but it was, and still is, famous for its ebony, esteemed the most solid, close, and shining, of any in the world. Besides the black, which is the most valuable, and indeed particularly distinguished in Europe by that name, there are also trees of the same kind which are red, and others of a citron colour [z]. Groves of oranges, both sweet and sour, are common, as well as citrons; and the pine-apple grows spontaneously in very great perfection. It is true they have but very little rice, or indeed any other grain; but this defect is, in some measure, supplied by admirable potatoes, and other nourishing roots, but more especially of late by the planting of manioc or cassavi from Brasil [a]. There is a sufficient quantity of black cattle, and plenty of venison, wild fowl in abundance, of different kinds. The lakes, rivers, and the sea that surrounds it, are full of fish of different sorts, many of them large, wholesome, and delicate. It was formerly famous for land and sea tortoises of an enormous size, the flesh, eggs, and shells of which were excellent; but these are now become more rare. However, it may, upon the whole, be styled, if not a rich, yet a pleasant and plentiful country, where the inhabitants, with a reasonable degree of care and pains, may be furnished with all the necessaries, and even conveniences of life; more especially, since it is now annually visited by vessels from Europe and the Indies. We shall conclude this description with observing, that it does not harbour either serpent, frog, toad, or other venomous animal. The most disagreeable creatures therein were bats of a prodigious size, which some old writers of voyages style flying cats; but these are, in some measure, extirpated [b].

Mistakes about this island.

Some ancient geographers having mentioned an island in these seas, called Cerne, which probably gave occasion to the Portuguese to bestow that name on the island of which we are speaking, notwithstanding that Pliny expressly places it in 18 deg. 30 min. of south latitude; so

[y] Voyage de Leguat, tom. ii. p. 64, 65. [z] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 186. edit à Geneve. 1750. [a] Memoire de La Bourdennaye, tom. i. p. 18. [b] Voyage de Leguat, tom. ii. p. 70—72.

that for this, as well as other reasons, we may pronounce them in a mistake. They discovered it in the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, according to their usual custom, put on shore some hogs, goats, and fowl, that they might multiply, and supply the necessities of those who should at any time call there, the island being uninhabited: and some think that they likewise planted there certain fruits and seeds from Europe and the Indies. Be that as it will, there is no mention of their occupying it any further; and in reality, considering the extensive empire they held, the numerous enemies they had to cope with, and the smallness of their own numbers, we may much rather wonder that the Portuguese sought out and described so many countries as they did, than that they reduced and settled no more. However, what they did served to make the place remarkable, and the Dutch had it early in their charts, as well as another island, called St. Apollonia, with which this has likewise been confounded, and which is now very justly believed a fiction, since modern seamen could never meet with any such isle [c].

Visited by the Dutch. The Dutch, in the second voyage they made to the East Indies, under the command of the admiral James Cornelius Vanneck, went thither, on the 18th of September, 1598, with five ships, and anchored in a safe port, capable of containing fifty large vessels. They found the country, which probably had been for many years undisturbed, abounding with cattle, fowl, fish, and fruits; so that they landed such of their crew as were sick, who speedily recovered; and having supplied themselves with all kind of refreshments, and bestowed the name of Warwick's Haven on the port where they anchored, in honour of their vice-admiral, they continued their voyage, and entered, as an useful observation in their journals, that this island might be as commodiously visited by outward-bound ships as that of St. Helena in their return [d]: but though many of their countrymen reaped the benefit of this advice, and though they named this island after prince Maurice of Nassau, yet it was near forty years before they thought of settling there; and were then just beforehand with the French, who actually sent a vessel thither from Dieppe for the like purpose, who found the Dutch in possession, and very busy in raising a fort, that might command the haven, and the place where ships took in water [e].

[c] Geographie Moderne, par Abraham Du Bois, p. 818. [d] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 157. [e] Relation du Voyage de François Cauche, de Rouen, en l'Isle de Madagascar, Isles adjacentes, et Cotes d'Afrique, p. 1.

About

About the year 1640, the Dutch had two or three little settlements, beſides their fort, upon the iſland; but wanting ſlaves to cultivate their plantations, they ſent over a bark to Madagaſcar, where the French had juſt begun to plant, and prevailed upon the governor, and another officer, to ſteal fifty blacks, of thoſe that were ſettled under their protection; which ſcandalous breach of faith proved the ruin of both colonies, for the people of Madagaſcar never had any confidence in the French afterwards [f]; and as for the negroes that were carried to Mauritius, moſt of them fled into the woods and mountains, where they became what in the Indies they call Marons, that is, outlaws or banditti; and as they readily afforded ſhelter to all who would join them, the Dutch, notwithſtanding they had a conſtant garriſon of fifty men in the fort, were continually expoſed to their inſults and depredations. Theſe, with other incidental calamities, made them weary of the place, where, through the company's parſimony, but chiefly through their own lazineſs, they were ſometimes in great want, though ebony bore a good price, and they might have raiſed conſiderable crops of indigo and tobacco. At length therefore they quitted the iſland, and left the wild negroes in poſſeſſion, who kept, notwithſtanding, for the moſt part, in their faſtneſſes, from whence they ſallied upon the crews of ſuch ſhips as went thither for refreſhments, and often ſurpriſed and cut them off. Theſe outrages occaſioned ſuch complaints at Batavia, that the general and council came at length to a reſolution, that the iſland ſhould be reſettled, believing that ſuch precautions might be taken, as would obviate all the objections raiſed againſt the colony at Mauritius [g].

The Dutch and French break faith with the natives.

Accordingly three eſtabliſhments were formed; one on the north-eaſt, another on the ſouth-weſt extremity of the iſland, and a third upon that which is called the Black River. To this place ſtate criminals were frequently baniſhed, from Batavia and other colonies, and orders were given for erecting a ſtone fort, with magazines and warehouſes, for the conveniency of ſuch Dutch ſhips as touched there; which very quickly put things upon a better foot than they had been. The ſeeds of miſchief, however, remained, and ſome new ones began to take root, and diſplay themſelves very apparently. On the one hand, the

The Dutch reſettle the iſland, but were again conſtrained to quit it.

[f] Hiſtoire de grande Iſle de Madagaſcar, par Monſieur Flacourt, p. ii. cap. 8.

[g] From private information, which may be depended on.

Marons remained lords of the interior part of the island, so that the Dutch were forced to confine their settlements to the sea-coasts, and this situation led them very naturally to an illicit trade. Amongst those who were banished thither, some were very skilful in this kind of traffick, the governor's allowance was but small, his perquisites not very large, and therefore he was but seldom able to withstand temptation. English, French, and Portuguese ships, met with strange accidents, which obliged them to put into Mauritius to refit, though the inhabitants had hardly any thing better than canoes, nor so much as a dock or a yard where they could build a bark, but they had magazines, into and out of which goods could be conveyed with singular dexterity. About the beginning of the current century, the directors of the Dutch East India company in Holland came to have so thorough an understanding of the practices at Mauritius, that they resolved to withdraw the colony; which was accordingly brought off, some say in 1703 [h], and others, with more probability, in 1710; and thus the Dutch government and the name of Mauritius were extinguished together.

Granted, by the title of the Isle of France, to the company of the Indies, by Lewis XV.

We have no distinct account at that time, or in what manner the French took possession of this deserted isle; but it must have been during the space that the old East India company's privileges subsisted, since we find it conveyed, with the rest of that company's territories, to the company of the Indies, by the name of the Isle of France [i]; yet possession was not formally taken till more than two years after; the edict for uniting the company being in May, 1719, and the monument of possession taken, erected by the chevalier De Fougeray, is inscribed September 3d, 1721 [k]. It seems that in this, as in other cases, the French government had a mind to make the world believe, that to begin and perfect was the same thing; for, by an edict, dated two months after possession was thus taken, a provincial council was erected in the Isle of France, dependent, however, upon that of Bourbon, the council there being declared superior upon this occasion; and the sieur De Nyon, governor of the Isle of France, was directed to take his oath of office in the superior council of the Isle of Bourbon, before he presumed to take his seat in his own, where he was to be assisted by six counsellors, which

[h] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 19. [i] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 581. [k] Le Grande Dictionaire Geographique et Critique, par M. Bruzen la Martiniere, tom. iv. p. 180.

might

might very probably be the better part of all the masters or heads of families in the island.

Yet this settlement unprofitable.

But notwithstanding the magnificent figure it made upon paper, the company of the Indies had much ado to resolve, after more than ten years trial, whether they should keep this potent colony, or leave the island to the wild negroes again, as the Dutch had done. To say the truth, the grounds of this perplexity were by no means trifling. The company had furnished all who went thither, either whites or blacks, with utensils, arms, and provisions, to be repaid out of the fruits of their industry, which were so great after their arrival and establishment, that they could never maintain themselves, but continued a dead weight upon the company. At length, in 1735, it was resolved to send over Monsieur De la Bourdennaye, with the swelling title of governor-general of the islands, both the councils, by his advice, being declared independent, and that superior in which the governor was present [1]. Upon his arrival in the Isle of France, he found it in a miserable condition, very thin of people, and those ignorant, lazy, and seditious, as if they had not been as they really were, naked, defenceless, and starving. This gentleman went to work with all the vigour and public spirit imaginable, and at the expence of making every man under his command his secret enemy, though they all professed that he was the wisest, gentlest, and best of governors, he soon put things to rights, and brought the greatest part of them to believe that he really was, what out of servile flattery they called him.

Improved, fortified, and rendered of the greatest consequence, by M. de la Bourdennaye.

He sent for young negroes over from Madagascar, bred them up in honest and religious principles, and then made use of them against the Marons, whom he obliged either to submit, or to quit the island. He found in the island scarce a planter, manufacturer, or soldier; he made every able man that resided there all of these, by shewing him, that it was his interest, and placing the essence of his own power in his example. When he came, there was nothing but cabins; in the space of a few years, besides private habitations, he erected magazines, arsenals, barracks, fortifications, mills, quays, canals, and aqueducts, particularly one that carried fresh water down to the port, and to the hospitals, three thousand six hundred toises in length, which work effectually removed the most troublesome circumstance that hitherto had impeded their thriving. They

[1] Memoire de la Bourdennaye, tom. i. p. 18.

had

had never been skilful enough to clean or repair the smallest vessel for their own service, but were forced to lay them up when foul or decayed, till some ship came in, when they could hire the carpenters to do what they wanted. They had not either roads, carriages, or sawing-mills; the governor enabled them to get the better of these wants, and, in eighteen or twenty months, brought down a large quantity of serviceable timber to the port, where he provided yards, wet and dry docks, pontons, canoes, shallops, and whatever else was requisite for careening, which he performed as effectually as in Europe. In 1737 he launched a brigantine; in 1738, he built two good ships, and, towards the close of the year, put one upon the stocks of the burden of five hundred tons. In a word, in four years the port of the Isle of France was as fit for building or careening as L'Orient, the business as effectually done, and with more expedition [m].

Methods by which the inhabitants have been drawn to improvements agreeable to the company.

All these public services could never have been brought about, if he had not attended, at the same time, to the personal interests, and private advantages, of every planter in the island. A few instances will suffice to set this important affair in a clear light. In the first place, he prevented their ever being distressed for food, that is for bread, which had often happened before, and was the principal cause of their poverty. He obliged them to plant five hundred feet square of manioc for every black man and their families. At first they were very averse, and some were so wicked as to destroy these plantations, after they were made; but, by degrees, becoming more accustomed to this diet, they acquired sagacity enough to perceive, that brown bread was better than none. He next prevented their slaughtering cattle at random, obliged the crews of the company's ships to be satisfied, during their stay, with fish and turtle, when it was absolutely requisite; and, by this temporary short allowance, secured to them perpetual plenty. He put them upon raising commodities and manufactures of which they never thought; and, amongst the rest, he set on foot sugar-works, for the profit of the company, which brought in, when he left the island, sixty thousand livres a year [n].

M. de la Bourdennaye accused in France, notwithstanding all these services.

All these strange things were performed between 1735 and 1740; and from thence we may account for that otherwise inexplicable mystery, how the Island of France came

[m] Supplement au Memoire du Sieur de la Bourdennaye, p. 51, 52, 53.

[n] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1207. Supplement au Memoire du Sieur De la Bourdennaye, p. 50.

to

to be in a condition, when the Britiſh ſquadron arrived on its coaſt, ſo diametrically oppoſite to all the accounts with which the moſt intelligent perſons here were able to furniſh the adminiſtration. But, for all this, M. de la Bourdennaye was on the point of being diſgraced, when he returned; the company of the Indies was implacable, the miniſters in general prejudiced, and the good-natured cardinal De Fleury very ſour. M. De la Bourdennaye inſiſted upon knowing the cauſes of all this ill humour, and refuted every charge ſo clearly, that the company had nothing to ſay; the miniſters were convinced, and the cardinal was ſatisfied. In the courſe of his juſtification, he ſhewed, that he was never poſſeſſed in property of a foot of land; that he never traded for a ſingle livre; and that he had decided but one law-ſuit all the time he was governor. He farther ſhewed, that the inhabitants of the Iſle of France were able to carry on a legal and beneficial commerce, in goods and manufactures of their own, both to the Indies and to Europe. It is now time to ſtep over to the other iſland of Bourbon, and ſee in how ſtrange a manner that colony was originally formed, and what in proceſs of time have been the advantages gained thereto, and improvements made therein, by the companies to which it belonged.

What the French propoſed to themſelves from eſtabliſhing ſettlements on the coaſts of Madagaſcar.

We have already given the reader ſome account of the repeated attempts made by the French to eſtabliſh a ſettlement upon Madagaſcar, or the Iſle of the Dauphin, as they call it, of which they kept poſſeſſion above one hundred years, and to which they yet maintain a title. They had three principal points in view in attempting this ſettlement °: the firſt, was the fixing a powerful colony in a commodious place for carrying on the trade of the Indies, without which they judged it in a manner impoſſible to make any conſiderable progreſs, knowing well that they ſhould be warmly oppoſed by the European nations already in poſſeſſion of this commerce. In the next place, they conceived that a very profitable intercourſe might be carried on with this iſland, which would be highly beneficial to their navigation, augment the number of their ſeamen, increaſe their ſhipping, and, in many other reſpects, facilitate their ſchemes for extending their trade; and laſtly, they propoſed, by making this eſtabliſhment the centre of their commerce, to put it into ſo good a condition as not

° Diſcours d'un Fidele Sujet du Roi, touchant l'Etabliſſement d'une Compagnie Françoiſe pour le Commerce des Indes Orientales.

only

only to answer all the ends of affording protection and refreshment to all their outward and homeward bound East India ships, but farther flattered themselves that the colony might be rendered so populous, and the towns and fortresses so defensible, as in case their success in the Indies should provoke the maritime powers to endeavour their destruction even by open force, they might find such a resistance here as would effectually preserve that trade when it should be acquired.

Their expectations not improbable, yet prove abortive.

These notions were indeed lofty and magnificent, worthy of their authors Richlieu and Colbert, and, at the same time, they were far from being unnatural or impracticable. The climate, though not so healthy and pleasant as they represent it, was however tolerable; the soil wonderfully fruitful; there wanted not good ports; all the necessaries of life were to be had in abundance; and, to say nothing of gold, iron, lead, of all which there are certainly mines in that island; cotton, wax, sugar, black and white pepper, tobacco, indigo, ebony, and a great variety of other valuable commodities might have made this place answer not only all their expences in settling it, but even their most sanguine expectations. That it did not answer them is very certain; but that the defect was not in the country, but in themselves, their best writers agree. That the scheme they went upon was rational, and not so only, but absolutely necessary, time and experience have since made appear; but they stand indebted for the advantages they now possess to chance, and accident [p]. For though they have long ago abandoned Madagascar, yet, as we have seen, they are still possessed of some islands near it, which are of some consequence, that without them it would be very difficult for them to preserve what trade they have in the Indies, as will hereafter appear, though in the accounts they have given of this commerce, they have scarce mentioned, much less described them.

A description of the island of Mascarenhas.

The most remarkable of these is that anciently called Mascareigne, or more correctly, Mascarenhas, from a noble family of that name in Portugal; but the French have given it long ago the name of Bourbon: it lies in the latitude of 21 deg. 23 min. south, and in the longitude of 76 deg. to the east of Madagascar, and at a small distance from the island of Maurice, or, as it is now styled, of France. We have already hinted that they touched at, and slightly examined it, even before they attempted Ma-

[p] Cauche, Flacourt, Rennefort, &c.

dagascar,

dagascar, but in all probability were deterred from settling there, on the score of its wanting a port. The island of Bourbon being in some parts inaccessible, the length and breadth have not been well determined, but the circumference, as a person who resided there several months assured us, may be fifty-seven leagues, or thereabouts [q]. It is for the most part mountainous, but in some places there are very pleasant and beautiful plains. In the south part of the island there is a burning mountain, which has thrown out vast quantities of bitumen, sulphur, and other combustible materials; neither does it cease throwing them out still, so that the country about is useless, and is called by the inhabitants Pays Brulé, that is, *Burnt Land.* The shore is high and rocky all round, so that there are no ports; but there are several good roads, particularly one on the west, and another on the north-east: as to its form, it is irregular [r].

Its climate, soil, and produce.

As to the air, it is equally pleasant and wholesome, insomuch that people live there to a vast age, without feeling either infirmities or diseases. This is an excellent effect from a very troublesome cause, by which we mean the hurricane, a kind of storm too well known to be described here: of these they have one or two every year, which purge and cleanse the air so as to render it highly salubrious; the certainty of which is thus distinguished, that when they fail of making their annual visits, as sometimes they do, the people are sickly, and death finds an entrance into the island, which otherwise would be soon overstocked [s]. The climate is hot, but not to such a degree as might be expected from its situation; the breezes from the mountains being constant and very refreshing: the tops of these mountains are in the winter covered with snow, and thus melting in the summer, furnishes abundance of rivers and rivulets, with which the country is plentifully watered; so that the soil, though not very deep, is wonderfully fruitful, producing Turkey-corn, and rice twice a year, and the latter in vast abundance. Most sorts of cattle are found there good in their kind, and very cheap: wild goats and wild hogs are found in the woods, and on the tops of the mountains: vast plenty they have of wild fowl of different kinds: fish too, in great abundance; and before the place was so well inhabited, vast quantities of land tortoise, affording at once the

[q] Tour du Mond, par L. G. de la Barbinais, tom. iii. p. 116.
[r] Relation de l'Isle de Bourbon, par Du Bois. [s] Tour du Mond, par L. G. de la Barbinais, tom. iii. p. 127.

most

most delicate and most wholesome food: as to fruits, they have the guavas and bananas, oranges and citrons, tamarinds, and other kinds: neither does it want valuable commodities, particularly ebony, cotton, white pepper, gum benjamin, aloes, and tobacco, all excellent in their kind, when compared with those of other countries. It is also happy in its deficiencies, for no venomous creature is to be found therein, and but two that are disagreeable to the sight; the one spiders of the size of a pigeon's egg, which weave nets or webs of a prodigious strength, and some curious people have thought that these might be so treated as to become as valuable as silk; the other, bats of a most enormous size, which are not only skinned and eaten, but esteemed also the greatest delicacy that they have; in which opinion, when they can overcome their natural aversion, so far as to taste them, Europeans agree[t]. Such is the island of Bourbon in itself; let us now speak of its inhabitants.

At what time the French first transferred people thither from Madagascar.

When the French first settled in Madagascar, the island Mascarenhas was absolutely desolate; three Frenchmen being banished thither and left in it for three years, made such a report of it at their return as surprised their countrymen: they lived most of that time upon pork, and though they were in a manner naked, yet they affirmed that they never had the least pain or sickness whatever. This account tempted one Anthony Taureau to go thither in 1654, accompanied by seven French and six Negroes, and they carried cattle, with which the country has been stocked ever since. The first thing they did was to erect the arms of France by order of Mr. Flacourt, who was governor of Madagascar, and to bestow upon the island a new name; they then set up huts, and laid out gardens, where they cultivated melons, all sorts of roots and tobacco; but just as the last mentioned herb grew ripe, came a hurricane, and destroyed all. The French, however, went to work again, and, by having some acquaintance with the climate, succeeded better, and added aloes to the rest of their plantation; but receiving no succour from Madagascar, and being tired of living there by themselves, they very readily embraced the offer made them by the captain of an English ship, and in the year 1658 embarked for Madrass; so there ended the first colony. When the last great blow was given to the French at Madagascar

[t] Histoire de la grand Isle de Madagascar, par Monsieur Flacour. p. 431. Relation de l'Isle de Bourbon, par du Bois.

by

by the natives, who, provoked chiefly by their gallantries, surprised Fort Dauphine, and cut them off in one night, as many people, with their wives, who were natives, escaped, as filled two canoes: these being driven by the wind on the island of Bourbon, were the next set of people that inhabited it; and for want of an opportunity to remove, were constrained to cultivate this new country, and to remain in it: neither was this any great hardship, considering the evil from which they escaped, and the peace and plenty they might have found here in return for a very small expence of labour and industry [u].

How a new augmentation of inhabitants came into this island.

It was not long before they acquired a farther stock of inhabitants; for a pirate that had been committing depredations in the Indies, returning to Europe, ran ashore, and was split to pieces upon the rocks, so that the crew were forced to join themselves to the former inhabitants, and as they had on board their vessel a great many Indian women they had made prisoners, they lived with them, and in process of time had a numerous posterity. As East India ships touched here frequently when they were too late to double the Cape, many of the sailors for the sake of the women, deserted at the time of their departure, and, staying behind, became planters in the island of Bourbon. As the place grew more populous, the people naturally became more civilized, and desirous of living in a more commodious manner. They therefore began to build small vessels, that in these they might make a trip sometimes to Madagascar, and purchase slaves, which they employed in their plantations, to cultivate aloes, tobacco, and other things, with which they drove a small trade, when ships of any nation anchored in their roads for the sake of refreshments [w]. In this situation things were when the East India company of France put in their claim, and assuming the property of the island, sent thither five or six families and a governor. At first, no doubt, the inhabitants expected to reap some benefit from their new masters; but finding very little, and thinking the governor took too much upon him, they revolted at the instigation of a priest, seized their governor, clapped him into a dungeon, and kept him there till hunger and sorrow made an end of him. For this some of the ringleaders were afterwards punished, a kind of fort was erected, in which some guns were

[u] Tour du Moude, par L. G. de la Barbinais, tom. iii. p. 121.
[w] Relation de l'Isle de Bourbon, par Du Bois. Tour du Mond, par L. G. De Barbinais, tom. iii. p. 122.

placed,

placed, and the French flag kept flying; but in other respects, so little care was taken, that till within these thirty years the island was in no state of defence, exclusive of the number of inhabitants, and the advantages of its situation, which we have before described [x].

How the inhabitants of the island came to be of such various, and even opposite complexions.

The number of inhabitants in the year 1717 was computed at two thousand, nine hundred free, and eleven hundred slaves. Amongst these people the usual distinction of whites and blacks entirely fails, for even the free are of different colours; and a French writer assures us, that he saw in a church one family consisting of five generations of all complexions: the eldest was a female, one hundred and eight years of age, of a brown black, like the Indians at Madagascar; her daughter a mulatto, her granddaughter a mestizo, her great-grand-daughter of a dusky yellow, her daughter again of an olive, and the daughter of this last as fair as any English girl of the same age [y]. These people are, generally speaking, of a gentle, quiet disposition, very industrious, and submissive enough to authority, provided it be exercised with a tolerable degree of equity and decency; for otherwise they are apt to rise one and all; and the slaves have so little reason to complain of their masters, that they are always on the same side. The island is divided into four quarters; the first is that of St. Paul, the largest and best peopled, their houses built at the bottom of a steep mountain on both sides of a fresh water lake. As for the plantations, they are on the top of a mountain, which they ascend by a very rough and troublesome passage. On the summit there is a spacious plain, great part of which is divided into plantations of rice, tobacco, corn, sugar, and fruits. The quarter of St. Denis lies seven leagues from that of St. Paul, towards the east, and there the governor resides: it is not so much peopled, but the country is pleasanter and better situated. At two leagues distance, proceeding along the sea-coast, is the quarter of St. Mary's, which is but thinly peopled. The last and most fertile quarter is that of St. Susannah, which is at the distance of four leagues from St. Denis; and the road between these two quarters is tolerable, though part of it has been cut with much difficulty through a wood; but the passage from St. Denis to St. Paul is only by sea [z].

[x] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 581. Tour du Mond, par L. G. De Barbinais, tom. iii. p. 139. Relation de l'Isle du Bourbon, par Du Bois. [y] Tour du Mond, par L. G. de Barbinais, tom. iii p. 124, 125. [z] Relation de l'Isle de Bourbon, par Du Bois.

When

When the present company of the Indies became, in right of the edict for their perpetual establishment, masters of this island, they soon discerned what vast advantages might be drawn from it, as well as how strangely it had been neglected. In consequence of this discovery, they have improved it exceedingly, raised new forts and batteries, which render it in a manner inaccessible; and have also settled in the most effectual manner, several of the adjacent islands, which are well supplied with cannon, military and naval stores, and whatever else is necessary for the defence of the inhabitants. There is no doubt that these must have cost considerable sums of money, but the company of the Indies have no reason to complain of that, since the island produces annually more than all they have laid out can amount to; since they bring from thence one year with another coffee to the value of one hundred thousand pounds [a].

Of late years due attention has been paid to this important island.

It is no easy matter to come at the knowlege when this improvement was first made, or, indeed, how it came to be made at all; on one side we are assured, that the coffee plant was carried to the isle of Bourbon from the country of Yeman, in Arabia, which is the true coffee country, in the year 1718, and the very person is named who carried it thither [b]. On the other hand, an officer who visited the isle of Bourbon in 1717, and who wrote an account of what he found remarkable there the very same year, assures us, that Mr. Para, who was then governor of the island, was actually in France, and that his errand thither was to inform the East India company that the coffee-plant had been found growing naturally in several places of the island [c]. These accounts may be reconciled thus: the plant brought from Mocha to the isle of Bourbon, might be with a view to compare it with the coffee said to grow there naturally; but however that might be, the cultivation of this plant now is become the principal business of the inhabitants of the isle of Bourbon, and it is believed that they produce an eighth, some say a sixth part as much coffee, as is raised in the kingdom of Yeman, and it is likewise held next in goodness to that. The diligent endeavour of the French company of the Indies to strengthen and improve the settlements in the islands, for that is the term used in France, has not only answered all the pur-

The introduction of coffee.

[a] Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. iii. p. 379, 380. [b] Memoire sur l'Origine & Usage du Caffé. [c] Tour du Monde, par L. G. de Barbinais, tom. iii. p. 135, 136.

poſes that they could poſſibly expect from it, but has likewiſe fully demonſtrated that the principles laid down by Richlieu and Colbert were perfectly juſt, and that nothing could have ſo effectually contributed towards the acquiring a ſhare in the Eaſt India commerce for the French nation, as the making a conſiderable eſtabliſhment on the iſland of Madagaſcar, and that the fault lay only in thoſe who undertook the execution of it.

Admiral Boſcawen's expedition.

It was therefore very judiciouſly adviſed, when admiral Boſcawen ſailed with the combined fleet of the maritime powers for the Indies, to ſtrike the firſt blow here. If that could have been done, there is no doubt that the expedition, in its event, would have been as proſperous as it was prudent in its contrivance; but alas! when he arrived, he found the iſlands of Bourbon and France quite other things than they had been repreſented by ſuch as had viſited them ſome years before. The whole coaſt of the Iſle of France was a continued breaſt-work, a prodigious artillery was provided for his reception, and as there were no ports capable of receiving his ſhips, and no poſſibility of landing men in open boats, to attack fortifications lined with numbers of people, expert in the uſe of fire-arms, and well ſupplied, he was obliged, after ſome cannonading to very little purpoſe, to purſue his voyage. This miſcarriage of the Engliſh admiral likewiſe gave the French an opportunity of ſending a great ſupply from theſe iſlands, of men, artillery, ammunition, proviſions, and money, to Pondicherry, which made the reduction of that place likewiſe impracticable. Theſe are facts in which both our accounts and their's very fully agree; ſo that there can be nothing plainer than that theſe iſlands are of the utmoſt conſequence to the French, and that the ſucceſs of their Eaſt India commerce muſt depend upon their remaining in a proſperous and thriving condition. Neither is it at all impoſſible, that, by degrees, they may open a commerce to all parts of the Indies, directly from theſe iſlands, which are certainly as well ſituated for that purpoſe as can be wiſhed. By a proper attention to the ſeaſons, voyages may be made with great facility and ſafety from them to the Perſian and Arabian Gulfs, and even to the ſtreights of Sunda and China, without the neceſſity of touching at any port in the Indies, and returns might be made thither in the like manner [d]. But it is now time to quit this

[d] Hiſtoire de grand Iſle de Madagaſcar, par Monſ. Flacort, p. 44, 54, 66.

eſtabliſhment,

eſtabliſhment, which is not properly in, but near the Indies, and to proceed next to thoſe in the Arabian and Perſian Gulfs, which, ſtrictly and accurately ſpeaking, are not in the Indies either, and yet as the trade carried on from them produces nothing that is not carried home to Europe on board the East India ſhips, they are generally, and with propriety enough, reputed a part of the Indies, amongſt all the nations that carry on any trade thither, and as ſuch are included in the charters of all the companies that have been any where ſettled for the management of that commerce.

SECT. IX.

An Hiſtorical Account of the French Commerce at Mocha, Baſſora, Surat, on the Coaſt of Malabar and Coromandel; their Acquiſitions in Point of Territory, through the Arts and Addreſs of their Governors; the State of Pondicherry reſumed.

THE French company in the Indies eſtabliſhed a factory at Mocha, on the coaſt of Arabia, in 1720, for the ſake of carrying on the coffee trade, which, about that time, became more conſiderable than ever, and this they have kept up ever ſince [e]. The other European nations have their factories alſo; but beſides the particular concerns of their reſpective factories, thoſe who are entruſted with the management of this trade, are obliged not only to live upon good terms, but alſo to concert meaſures together, that they may all purchaſe coffee at the ſame price, and not raiſe its value by bidding upon each other, a caſe which has ſometimes happened, when this commodity was ſcarce, to the no ſmall advantage of the natives, and prejudice of the Europeans [f]. The valuable article of coffee was, in a great meaſure, taken from the East India company before the edict of union, by which it was reſtored to the perpetual company of the Indies, and the duty with which it was charged, of ten French pence per pound, was valued at a very moderate ſum, upon payment of which annually, coffee paſſed every where through France freely, and without any duty; but in 1736, the farmers-general of the revenue repreſent- *The French factory at Mocha.*

[e] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. i. col. 653.

[f] Memoire ſur l' Origine et Uſage du Caffé.

ing this as a great hardſhip upon them to the miniſtry, the compoſition was declared void, and the duty has been ever ſince paid; but, by way of indemnification, the ſum of fifty thouſand livres is paid annually, out of the treaſury, to the company of the Indies [g]. We have mentioned this circumſtance particularly, to ſhew that there is nothing ſtable in France; and that, notwithſtanding the ſolemnity of edicts, and occaſional favours and indulgencies, in order to raiſe a new, or to revive a declining commerce, the revenue will, ſooner or later, obtain a preference; and as the government really does all, ſo, under one pretence or other, it will never fail to avail itſelf of all that is done by the French in the commerce of the Indies.

By what means the French eſtabliſhed a regular correſpondence in the Perſian Gulf.

In reſpect to the commerce of the Perſian Gulf, no pains have been ſpared by the French miniſtry to do every thing that was poſſible for promoting the commerce of the company. As a proof of this attention, it may be ſufficient to give one inſtance. The count de Maurepas, while the affairs of trade and the marine were under his care, made choice of one M. Otter, a Swediſh gentleman, of calm but determined courage, and of great capacity, who had an inclination to viſit the Eaſt, and to perfect himſelf in the knowlege of the Oriental tongues, to be the inſtrument of promoting a correſpondence between the French in the Indies and the ſubjects of Perſia and of the Grand Signior [h]. This gentleman being furniſhed with proper inſtructions, ſet out from Paris in 1734, and after remaining ſome time at Conſtantinople, proſecuted his journey to the court of Perſia, notwithſtanding the troubles that were then in both empires; by which, though he travelled in the train of a Perſian ambaſſador, yet he found his life in imminent peril almoſt in every day's journey. He was able to do little with the ſhâh, whoſe affairs were ſo embarraſſed, that how much ſoever he might be inclined thereto, yet he could give but very little attention to matters of this nature. M. Otter, therefore, returned into the dominions of the Grand Signior, and, according to the inſtructions that he had received, neglected nothing that could procure him an intereſt with Achmet, baſhaw of Bagdat, or Babylon, who acted rather as an independent prince than as a ſubject of the Porte, and who had forced the Grand Signior to

[g] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. iii. p. 429.
[h] Eloge de M. Otter.

put

put the important city of Balsora again into his hands, after it had been wrested from him [i].

It was this city, which stands upon the famous canal formed from the waters of the rivers Tygris and Euphrates, that was the great object of the French views. The English and Dutch had both consuls there; and the former had the liberty of displaying his flag, a privilege which the latter had not been able to obtain, though he had offered no less than twenty thousand crowns for that favour. M. Otter went to this city towards the close of the year 1741, and soon after a French ship arrived from the bay of Bengâl, with a person on board who had the character of consul from the company of the Indies. This person, though a man of parts and experience, thought his own reception in that quality a thing so little likely to take effect, that he intimated to M. Otter his intention to return, in case any disputes should be made about it. But the interest of the latter was so powerful with the bashaw of Bagdat, that he procured the necessary instruments for establishing the French consulate, with the honour of the flag, not only to the surprize of the other Europeans, but also of the bashaw's governor in that city, who had not the least intelligence of the negociation, till he had received his master's orders. This consul dying, M. Otter himself, in the month of August, 1742, was appointed, by the company, to succeed him, and executed this office till the year following, that he returned to France, soon after which he died [k].

M. Otter is established, after the death of the first consul, in that office at Balsora.

The establishment of this consulship was a thing not only highly honourable, but very serviceable also, to the company of the Indies, on account of the great traffick carried on there, and the large demand which there is for almost all sorts of Indian commodities, which passed from thence by land, by the way of Bagdat, to Aleppo. The rich goods and manufactures taken in exchange, are shipped on board the company's vessels, which, according as the director-general in the Indies thinks expedient, are either transported from thence to the islands, and at the proper season, to Europe, or return into the Indies. This trade, carried on either way, is extremely profitable, especially in times of peace; and as it rarely happens that things are in confusion in the Indies, and in the grand signior's dominions, at the same time, so, with proper attention,

The great advantages derived from this factory, in respect to their commerce in the Indies.

[i] Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, par Monsr. Otter. tom. ii. chap. 7. [k] Eloge de M. Otter.

a market is commonly found for both cargoes, without bringing any part home to Europe; and the more there is of this sort of intercourse, the greater gains accrue to the company, and the better returns they are able to make of those goods that are most in demand in Europe: but it requires very great talents in those who are intrusted with the management of things at these ports, and at Bassora in particular; because, exclusive of their ordinary functions, they are frequently put to very great difficulties, by the bashaws, and other officers of the Porte, who are continually watching for an opportunity to plunder or oppress them [l]. Against this peculation, the best security is a good understanding with the other European nations, who, if they act in concert, are generally sure to get the better, whereas want of union becomes prejudicial to them all in their turns; and yet, through national prejudices, incompatibility of interests, or personal jealousies, this so rational and necessary harmony is very rarely of any long continuance [m].

What different fortunes have attended their factory at Surat from its foundation.

It is now almost a century since the French established themselves first at Surat, where they have only a lodge, or factory, in the same manner as the English and Dutch, for which they pay an annual rent to the Mogul; but it is very strong notwithstanding, and so well provided with every thing for its defence, as to be in no danger of being easily surprised. Whatever methods they took, certain it is, that the French, for many years, were highly considered by the great monarch of the Indies; but, upon the declension of their affairs, and through the great debts they contracted with the Indian merchants, this was, in a great measure, lost; and, a little before the establishment of the perpetual company of the Indies, they were fallen so low, as to be in danger of having their lodge seized, and those who were in the company's service imprisoned, for the debts they had contracted. This score, however, has been gradually wiped off, and the French have recovered their credit again, not only with the merchants, but with the ministers and generals of the Mogul, with whom they have commonly a closer understanding than any other European nations, for reasons with which we shall acquaint the reader hereafter. Their trade, however, is nothing near so considerable in this city as that of the English and the Dutch; because, as they have not

[l] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 712. [m] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, tom. i. p. 81.

so

so many settlements in distant parts of the Indies, they cannot have that variety of commodities which is necessary to drive a great traffic. Surat has been ever since the Portuguese lost their power, the principal magazine of all oriental riches, as well as the commodities and manufactures of Europe, which are circulated from thence through the whole extent of the Mogul's dominions [n]. But, if no new revolutions happen in their affairs, there is little reason to doubt, that they will continue to mend here as well as in other places; so that, in time, they will have a share in that, as well as other branches of commerce. At present they send no ships from hence directly, as in the time of the former East India company, who, as the reader has already seen, transferred their chief residence thither from Madagascar; which was one of the first false steps they made, and which has been since repaired, by transferring it to Pondicherry, from whence, and from their settlements in the bay of Bengâl, all their returns are now regularly made; and it is from the first of these places that a correspondence is established with Surat, in which several ships are employed yearly [o].

Commerce of the French on the coast of Malabar, and their share in the pepper trade.

Upon the coast of Malabar, the French first settled a factory at Mirzeou, which lies about eighteen leagues south of Goa, between the kingdoms of Visapour and Canara, so that to which of the two it properly belongs is doubtful. They afterwards removed to Rajapour, which has been considered as a wrong step, of which the Dutch took advantage, and drew the pepper trade in that neighbourhood to themselves [p]. They had also some other factories upon the same coast, and have still a considerable trade there; but the memoirs we have of the company of the Indies do not furnish us with light sufficient to be so precise in this matter as we could wish. All we can affirm with certainty is, that a large quantity of pepper is a constant article in their sales; which is a proof sufficient of their being in possession of a considerable commerce upon this coast, though, for the reasons before mentioned, we cannot enter into the particulars [q]. We will therefore pass on to the coast of Coromandel, upon which the French have the only considerable

[n] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 43—46. [o] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 765, 766. [p] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 780. [q] Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. iii. p. 380—383, 384.

places of which they stand possessed in the Indies, and which have been very much augmented, since their affairs have been under the management of the new company, and thereby so intimately connected with the government, as to be always considered as under the direction of the ministry.

The district of Karical on the coast of Coromandel, possessed by them in sovereignty.

The first of these is Karical, situated in 10 deg. 35 min. of north latitude, and in the longitude of 78 deg. from the meridian of Paris, lying four leagues north from the Dutch settlement at Negapatan, two leagues south from the Danish settlement at Tranquebar, and twenty-five leagues south from Pondicherry. This territory, which they possess in full sovereignty, consists of the town before mentioned, which stands upon the river Colran, which, however, is not navigable but for very small vessels; the fortress of Karcangery, at the mouth of the river; upon the sea-coast nine or ten villages; and a tract of country fifteen or sixteen miles in extent, very fertile in rice, and producing also cotton and indigo, inhabited by ten or twelve thousand people, who subsist by making piece-goods of several kinds, and from whom the French draw a yearly rent of ten thousand pagodas, which is about four thousand five hundred pounds sterling [r]. The French writers boasted, and it may be with truth, that none of the European nations settled upon the coast were in possession of so large a tract of country; and therefore the reader may reasonably expect, that we should acquaint him how it came into their hands (U).

The

[r] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 271.

(U) The situation, or even the name, of the town of Karical, seldom occurs in any of the common maps of India, which makes it necessary to speak of it more particularly. At the time the French became possessed of it, there were in it six hundred thirty-eight houses of stone and brick, exclusive of meaner structures, comprehending also five mosques, five large pagods, nine of a lesser size, and upwards of five thousand inhabitants. It stands upon a large navigable stream which will admit Indian-vessels of two hundred tons burden and upwards. In some maps this is styled the River of Karical, but in the best, it is made no more than a branch of the Coloran, or Colran. The fortress of Karcangery is seated above half a mile from the sea, and is about a cannon-shot distant from the town before mentioned. It was formerly defended by eight large towers, but a great part is demolished by its new masters. Trionmale Rayen Patuam, after the capital, is the largest

The kingdom of Tanjour comprehends the south-east part of the extremity of the peninsula without the Ganges; and the monarch of this country dying in 1738, left his dominions to his nephew Sahagy, who was soon dispossessed of them by a natural son of his predecessor; upon which he fled to the French for refuge, and was kindly received by the sieur Dumas, who was at that time governor of Pondicherry. In order to obtain succours for the recovery of his kingdom, he made a voluntary cession to the French of the territory before mentioned, in the month of July the same year, and two of the company's ships were sent to take possession of the places yielded to them, and to furnish the king's subjects who should take up arms for him, with the succours that had been promised him. In the mean time, Sahagy understanding that those who had set his competitor upon the throne, began to be dissatisfied with him, made them secretly such offers, as induced them to seize him, and proclaim their old master; who returned to Tanjour, and was received with universal acclamations; and having got the usurper into his hands, ordered him to be immediately cut into four quarters [s].

Upon the deposition of the king of Tanjour, he retires to Pondicherry, and demands succours from the French.

The next step he took, was to send a detachment of between four and five thousand men, to prevent the French from getting possession of the places he had given them; upon which the two ships were obliged to return back to Pondicherry. Sahagy, however, pretended that, at a convenient time, he would fulfil his treaty, but that, being engaged in a war with the nabob Sander Saheb, the Mogul's general in the adjacent provinces, it was not convenient for him to do it then. Sander Saheb having notice of this transaction, and having received great civilities from the sieur Dumas, offered him his assistance; which being readily accepted, he sent a body of troops upon the coast, who made themselves masters of the fortress by storm, and put it into the hands of the French, February the 14th, 1739 [t]. The king of Tanjour was no

Who, in virtue of his concession, become possessed of this district, which he afterwards confirms.

[s] Memoire particulier sur l'Acquisition de Karical. [t] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 267, 268, 269.

largest and most considerable place in the whole district. It lies to the south of Karical, at the distance of about a league, and a very small space from the sea. It is composed of about five hundred brick houses, four mosques, four great pagods, twenty-eight smaller, and twenty-five places of accommodation for travellers (1).

(1) Memoire particulier sur l'Acquisition de Karical.

sooner

sooner informed of this event, than he sent an agent of his to the sieur Dumas, to acquaint him, that he need not have had recourse to this method, and to throw the blame of what was passed upon the Dutch. The better to prove the reality of his professions, he sent by the same person two instruments, dated April the 20th, 1739, one of which contained a ratification of his former treaty, and the other an order to the inhabitants of the district he had yielded up, to acknowlege and obey the French for the future as their sovereigns [u]. In a very short time followed a new revolution; for the uncles of Sahagy, disliking his conduct, deposed, and caused him to be strangled in a bath of warm milk, and set upon the throne one of his cousins, whose name was Rajah Singue. This new prince, not knowing how soon he might have occasion for their assistance, not only ratified his predecessor's treaty with the French, but also added some farther concessions, advised the sieur Dumas to fortify the places he had given him, and had an interview with him there, in the beginning of the year 1741: ever since which, the French have continued in quiet and peaceable possession [x].

History of Pondicherry continued, with the detail of favours granted by the Great Mogul.

The next settlement on the coast of Coromandel is that of Pondicherry, which having already described, we shall here add only some particulars that have happened since the erecting of the company of the Indies. In the year 1736, which was the second year the Sieur Dumas had possessed the government, he obtained from the Mogul, Mahomet Shâh, the same who was deposed by Kouli Khân, the privilege of coining money, that is, of striking rupees, with the style of that monarch on one side, and the name of the place on the other [y]. The rupee is a coin of the value of forty-eight French pence, which makes between two and three shillings of our money. Of these the governor coined five or six millions every year; and, as these were of the Mogul's standard, the company gained by that means about four hundred thousand livres annually, by the coinage; which was a very considerable article, and shews with how great address the French act, in procuring funds for the support of their establishments, in the very country where they are made, and at the expence of those amongst whom they inhabit (X).

SECT.

[u] Memoire particulier sur l'Acquisition de Karical. [x] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 271. [y] Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, n. 161. chap. 83. liv. 1.

(X) This article of coinage, as a matter of great consequence, deserves a more particular explanation. They coin at

SECT. X.

The History of the Rise of the Indian War; the Conduct of Mr. Du Pleix in that Respect.

Rise of the war in the Indies, which has produced extraordinary consequences in respect to this company.

AT the time that Kouli Khân dethroned the Great Mogul, and made him prisoner in his own capital, the viceroys of that unfortunate monarch, though they would not draw a sword, or stir a step, in his favour, were strong enough to think of conquering countries from the Indian princes, with intent to erect them into principalities for

at Pondicherry both gold and silver, and of all the denominations current in the dominions of the Great Mogul. Of these the pagoda is of gold, and of an odd figure, resembling a button, with some grains on the flat part, and the form of an idol on the convex surface, from whence it receives its name; in weight they are 2 dwt. 4 gr. $27\frac{1}{4}$ mt. and the gold so fine, that they are generally esteemed worth nine shillings of our money. The roupie, as the French write it, roupee, or rupee, as it is spelt in our authors, is a silver coin, something broader than one of our shillings, and much thicker; in point of fineness it is better than the English standard. Three hundred twenty-six rupees are equal to one hundred pagodas, both being of proper fineness and weight. Fanons, or, as our authors style them, fanhams, are small pieces of silver, which, the French writers say, are accounted twenty-four to the pagoda, and seven and a half to the rupee; according to our writers, there are six and thirty to the pagoda, and sometimes more. Cash is a kind of copper coin, of which there go about fourscore to a fanham; but, in keeping accounts, they make use of imaginary cash, that are supposed to be sixty to the fanham, to prevent confusion. Our own nation at Fort St. George had the like privilege, and gained the same advantages, the coin being of the same fineness, and bearing the same inscriptions; viz. on one side of the rupee, *such a year of the glorious reign of Mahommed Shah*; and on the other, *this rupee was coined at Arcatte*, both establishments being under the jurisdiction of the nabob of that province; but, for the sake of distinction, there is a half-moon on that of Pondicherry, and a star on the Madrass rupees (1). The profit of the English coinage was computed at an half per cent. for gold, and two per cent. for silver, and was thought to produce about one thousand pagodas a month (2).

(1) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 260. (2) Lockyer's Account of the Trade in India, p. 29.

themselves

themselves and their children. Daoust Aly Khân, nabob of Arcatte, a province upon which both the French settlement at Pondicherry and the English at Madrafs depend, was of the number of these ambitious viceroys: in order to carry his designs into execution, he assembled an army of between fifty and sixty thousand men, with which he reduced several Indian princes, and pushed his conquests to the other side of the peninsula, with a view of reducing several districts on the coast of Malabar [z]. The Indian princes, in this distress, applied themselves for assistance to the king of the Marattes, a potent, numerous, and warlike nation, inhabiting the country to the south-east of the mountains behind Goa, upon the coast of Malabar. That king, who was persuaded by his priests to consider this as a religious war made by the Mahometans, with an intent to extirpate the Gentiles, ordered his son to march with an army of sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, to the relief of the distressed princes of his own religion. He took the field in the month of October, 1739, and that young hero, before the close of the year, attacked and defeated the army of the nabob, who was himself killed on the spot. His son and son-in-law were at a distance, each at the head of a small army, his widow, with the rest of the family, and all his riches, were obliged to take refuge at Pondicherry, and to demand the protection of the Sieur Dumas, who, with the advice of his council, received her and all her retinue, into the place, to which also multitudes of people repaired, from all the adjacent countries [a].

The widow and family of the Mogul's nabob received into Pondicherry, and protected against the Marattes.

The prince of the Marattes did not fail to demand them, with all their effects, and a vast sum of money besides, from the governor of Pondicherry, which place he threatened to besiege. Though the French highly magnify the courage of Dumas, in presuming to defend himself against such a force, yet if we consider that he was in a place regularly fortified, well supplied with provisions, with a garrison of between six and seven thousand men, and between four or five hundred pieces of cannon mounted, we cannot conceive that he was in any great danger of being distressed. The Marattes continued in the field all the year 1740, and till the month of April, 1741; and, having plundered every place within their reach, and tried,

[z] Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, n. 161. c. 83. l. 1. f. 3. avec un Memoire particulier.

[a] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 281, 282, 283.

without

without success, what menaces would do with the governor of Pondicherry, they at last accepted a small present and retired. Thus ended this war, which strongly recommended the French to the favour of the Mogul and his ministers, who thought they could never do enough to express their esteem for the Sieur Dumas, and their kindness for the nation [b].

Compliments paid to the French by the monarch of Indostan, and his ministers and generals.

In the first place Nizam El Mouk, prime minister to the Mogul, wrote the Sieur Dumas a very respectful letter of thanks, with an ample acknowledgment of his services, and sent him also a vest of honour, which is the usual present upon such occasions. Afterwards Pabder Aly Khan, the son of the deceased nabob, came in person to Pondicherry, as well to thank the governor as to comfort his mother. The Sieur Dumas received him with all possible marks of honour, and offered him very considerable presents, as is the mode in the East, of which he received only a pair of gilt vessels for holding rose-water, and in return sent the governor a very fine elephant with rich trappings. Some time after this visit, as a more significant mark of the sense he had of the respect paid to his family in the time of their distress, he made a cession to the Sieur Dumas personally of three districts in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, of the value in the whole of above one thousand pounds sterling, per annum; a year after he sent the Sieur Dumas all the armour of the deceased nabob his father, richly adorned with gold and precious stones [c]. The Mogul, having been informed of the cession made by the nabob in favour of the French governor, was so far from being displeased thereat, that he confirmed it by his letters patent, and at the same time declared the Sieur Dumas himself a nabob, and in that quality gave him the command of four thousand five hundred horse. As all these testimonies of kindness were personal, the governor exerted all his interest that they might be attached and pass to his successor, which favour he obtained, in the month of October, 1741, upon the arrival of his successor, M. Du Pleix; as soon as he had put him in possession of the French town and fortress, he declared him likewise the Mogul's nabob, and caused him to be acknowledged as such by the body of four thousand five hundred horse, of which he was to have the command, so that he was

[b] Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num. 114. c. 88. liv. 4. [c] Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. iii. p. 348, 349, 350.

as much established in the rights of his Indian as his French post [d].

Some short time after M. Du Pleix had assumed the government, he went to Bengal in order to be received there, pursuant to the orders of the Mogul, with the honours due to his dignity, and, having put himself at the head of the cavalry belonging to him, as nabob, he made his public entry, preceded by several flags displayed, together with kettle-drums of an enormous size, trumpets, hautboys, and other martial music, the Mogul's standard and kettle-drums being carried each upon an elephant. When the ceremony was over, he went to pay the salami, or *salute of respect*, to the governor of Ougli, which the governor declined, M. Du Pleix's post, in the Mogul's service, being of a rank much superior to his [e]. As persons of this dignity have their standards, flags, and music, posted at certain hours before the place of their residence, so M. Du Pleix gave orders for erecting such a one at the gate of Valdaour, which is the principal entrance into Pondicherry. It is scarcely to be conceived how many and how great advantages attend this connection, which the French governors of Pondicherry have with the court of the Mogul; which are altogether extraordinary, nothing of the like nature having of late been bestowed upon Europeans, of which there is no doubt they will make all possible advantages, as well by extending their territory, already become very considerable, as by procuring such grants and concessions as may be useful to their commerce [f].

SECT. XI.

Account of the remaining Part of the French Commerce in the East Indies; their Intercourse with China; the Plan of their domestic Management; a View of the grand Establishment at Port L'Orient.

Vicissitudes attending the French commerce at Masulipatan.

THE famous city or town of Masulipatan situated on the mouth of the river Crisna, which by its commodious port has attracted all the European nations to settle factories therein, belonged formerly to the kings of Golconda, as has been before mentioned, but is at present in the hands

d Archives de la Compagnie des Indes Cotte, C. & D. e Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 306. f Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, Cotte D.

of

of the Mogul. We have said so much already of this celebrated mart, justly reputed the most considerable upon the coast of Coromandel, that we shall confine ourselves here solely to what regards the French nation. Their trade flourished exceedingly when first settled, but was disturbed by M. De la Hay's expedition, and his seizing the city of St. Thomas, which produced a war with the king of Golconda, by whom it was at last retaken, by the assistance of the Dutch [g]. Their friendship on this occasion gave them a vast ascendancy in trade, and the French made afterwards but a small figure till within these few years: but the company is in good credit there at present, and has her share in the great dealings that are carried on in almost all the commodities and manufactures of the Indies; and particularly in the fine cottons, which are so much and so justly esteemed preferable to all others. It is from hence the Jesuits were suspected to find their way to the diamond-mines, of which commerce there are many extraordinary stories told, though not much to be depended upon in point of authenticity [h]. Some of the French relations speak of the heat here as intolerable, and equal to what is felt at Gambroon, and add, that the overflowing of the rivers in the rainy season rendered travelling impracticable, their residence there very uncomfortable, and the climate very unwholesome; but at the same time they ought to add, that, to these annual inundations the country of Golconda derives a fertility equal to that which Egypt receives from the same cause [i].

Commerce of the French at Ougli, and through the country of the Mogul.

Ougli, on the west bank of the Ganges, at the distance of twenty leagues from the sea, is the great mart of the bay of Bengâl, and we may from hence form some idea of the vast advantages which the dominions of the Mogul receive from the European commerce; since this port belongs also to that monarch, as well as Surat, which is almost at the other end of the Indies. The French have a very flourishing factory here, under the inspection of a director-general, and other officers, as at Pondicherry; receive, generally speaking, the same number of ships from Europe, and make the like returns thither [k]. It is from hence that they drive a trade with Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-china, and other countries situated in the peninsula without the Ganges, which is, properly speaking, the country-trade.

[g] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 121. [h] Miscellanea Curiosa, tom. iii. p. 238. [i] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 121. [k] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 798.

All

All sorts of rich commodities and valuable manufactures are common here, and afford them an opportunity of making proper assortments for the cargoes of their homeward-bound ships. The diamond mines of Soumelpour are seated in the northern part of this kingdom, of a very different kind from those of Golconda, which are dug out of the earth; whereas here they are found in the sand of the river Goual, and that through its whole course from the mountains down to Soumelpour, that is, for fifty leagues together [l]. The proper season for searching for them is in the month of February, when the waters are low; and, at that time, above ten thousand people are employed in digging and washing the mud and sand taken out of the river. The stones found here are very fine but very small; and those which the French style pointes naües, or *clean sparks*, are brought from thence. It is judged from these circumstances, that there are very rich mines in the mountains, but they are inaccessible, and therefore both the natives and Europeans are forced to content themselves with these pieces that are torn off by the torrents, and are brought down with the land-floods. The company of the Indies have also a factory at Papeli, and perhaps some other small ones under the direction of that at Ougli, where they have likewise an opportunity of dealing with merchants from all parts of Asia; such as Persians, Arabians, Guzurats, Malabarians, Turks, Moors, Jews, Georgians, and Armenians; so that it is here they dispose of the greatest part of their European goods and manufactures, and at a better rate than in other parts of the Indies [m].

The French send annually ships to China.

The French company of the Indies send their ships regularly for China, in the same manner as the rest of the European nations, and carry on a considerable commerce there. Their cargoes consist partly of commodities, but chiefly in silver; the former seldom amounting in value to above a tenth part of the latter. As to the merchandize, it consists of arms, such as fusils, pistols, scymitars richly mounted, clocks, repeating watches, and toys in gold and silver; camblets of several colours, but chiefly blue, scarlet, and cinnamon, stuffs of several kinds; tapestry, paper and pens, mathematical instruments, and a great quantity of glass and crystal wares; as also several sorts of distilled and perfumed waters, and red coral [n]. In the first

[l] Lullier Voyage aux Grandes Indes, p. 47. [m] Tavernier, Lullier, Guyon, &c. [n] Facture Generale des Merchandizes Envoyes a la Chine, &c.

ships,

In the first ships, the company sent an agent, with an intention that he should have resided at Canton; but he found himself so uneasy there, and plagued with so many demands, that he was obliged to send away the homeward bound ship without leave, and to take shelter in a Chinese habit in a convent of Dominicans. Many French vessels have made the run from Peru to China with success, and have traded, some at the port of Amoy, but without much profit; most of them at Canton with better fortune [o]. The French have been desirous of intriguing in that country, as well as in the dominions of the Great Mogul, but hitherto without effect; for the Chinese are so subtle and so suspicious, more especially of foreigners, that it is very improbable they will ever be able to make any impression there [p]. All the Europeans who have visited that country agree that, as traders, the Chinese are as great cheats as any in the world; but none give them a worse character in all respects than the French, who represent them as a base, brutal, cowardly, insolent, and perfidious people, notwithstanding the fine stories that are told by the missionaries, of their wisdom, virtue, and politeness. It does not appear that the French have yet attempted any intercourse with the Manillas, and therefore all we have to say of their commerce in the East ends here.

The noble establishment of an haven, magazines, wharfs, &c. at Port L'Orient.

But, before we conclude this section, it is necessary to say something of that extraordinary establishment, which, from the favour of the crown, and for the use of her proprietors, the perpetual company of the Indies enjoy in France. The ministry considered that, for the commodious carrying on of this commerce, it would be necessary for the company to have a port for the reception of her ships, docks, yards, magazines, and arsenals for constructing, equipping, and repairing them, as well as warehouses for the reception of merchandise; and to accommodate them as well as possible in all these respects, no place was thought so proper as Port Louis in Bretagne [q]. This is a very spacious, safe, and convenient harbour, at the mouth of the river Blavet, capable of receiving large ships, which may safely pass to the bottom of the bay. Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, it was very little frequented by vessels of any sort, and hardly ever by any thing better than fishing-vessels; so

[o] Noveau Tour du Monde, par L. G. De la Barbinais, tom. i. p. 251. [p] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 834.
[q] Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 68.

that, bestowing it upon the East India company was no detriment to the trade of the kingdom [r]. It was granted by the king's declaration, dated in the month of June, 1666, purporting that his majesty gave and granted unto the company the village called Feandick, and several others, seated on the rivers Henneban and Ponscot, with whatever void, waste, and unoccupied places belonged to the crown thereabouts, to be disposed of in such a manner, as they should think most convenient for their intended establishment; and in this they had the full property and seigniory, without any rents, service, or restrictions, save, only rendering homage upon every change of the crown [s]. Here, therefore, the East India company fixed the centre of their commerce in France, and spent a great deal of money in making docks and yards, and other conveniencies, bestowing upon it the pompous name of Port L'Orient; and, in time of war, the king caused several large ships to be built and launched there, without any interruption to the company's affairs, which were then upon the decline.

All of which are now improved by the company now subsisting.

But this, coming with the rest of the effects and possessions of the East India company upon the same terms, and on the like trust, into the hands of the perpetual company of the Indies, they have rendered it, in all respects, worthy the title given it by their predecessors [t]. The park, which is of a considerable extent, encloses their warehouses and magazines, which are prodigiously large, very conveniently disposed, well built, strongly vaulted, and covered with blue slate; the apartments of the directors, and other officers of the company, compose altogether two handsome piles of building, and are very commodious; they have likewise a spacious rope-walk, a magazine of masts, and a fine arsenal. Before the magazines lie the quays, which are always kept clean and in good repair; close to them the vessels are moored so as to take in or deliver their lading with all imaginable facility; and the town, port, docks, yards, and all their dependencies, are covered and protected by a good citadel [u]. The company of the Indies, at the breaking out of the war in 1740, had upwards of forty very fine ships of their own; and, according to their present establishment, they send ten or twelve every year to the Indies, that is, two to China, three to the gulf of Bengâl, three or four to Pon-

[r] Nouvelle Description de la France, tom. iv. p. 342. [s] Declaration pour l'Etablissement la Compagnie des Indes Orientales au Port Louis. [t] Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom iii. p. 151—375. [u] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col 220.

dicherry,

dicherry, one or two to the islands [w]. Thus the reader has seen the history of the East India companies formed in France, as well as of their commerce and settlements from their first attempting such a correspondence nearly to the present time, with the changes and revolutions they have undergone, and the constant and zealous attention which the ablest of their ministers have shewn, in protecting and promoting a trade which they have ever considered as of the highest importance, and which, in spite of repeated disappointments, and notwithstanding innumerable obstacles, they had at the period just mentioned, brought into a promising, at least, if not a prosperous condition.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The History of the Establishment of a Company trading to the East Indies, under the Charter of his Imperial Majesty, from Ostend.

SECT. I.

The pretended, as well as the real Motives, to the proposing a Commerce between the Austrian Netherlands and the East Indies.

THE distinction between the Austrian or Spanish and the United or Dutch Netherlands, arose from the cession made by his catholic majesty, who had been the legal sovereign of them all, to the archdukes Albert and Isabella, of those ten provinces that continued in obedience to him when the other seven threw off the yoke and became a free state. This great event happened in the year 1598, when, by the very act by which these provinces were given to the princes before mentioned, it is declared that none of their subjects shall be at liberty to send any ships to, or carry any traffick in, either the East or West Indies upon any pretence whatsoever; and in case they should offend in this particular, his catholic majesty re-

The inhabitants of the Austrian Low Countries excluded by the kings of Spain from trading unto either Indies.

[w] Histoire des Indes, p. 369, 370.

ſerved to himſelf the power of puniſhing them who ſhould be found ſo offending, and that in the ſevereſt manner, by the confiſcation of their goods, and even with death itſelf [x]. This reſtriction which, no doubt, was intended for the benefit of the ſubjects of Spain, and with a view of preſerving to them all the advantages accruing from the commerce of both the Indies, was the reaſon that the inhabitants of theſe provinces contented themſelves with their own manufactures, and ſuch a foreign trade as they could ſafely and legally carry on, not only while they remained under thoſe princes, but alſo after they were again united to the crown of Spain upon the demiſe of the archduchefs Iſabella in 1638 [y]. But during all this ſpace, they looked upon that reſtraint as a thing very harſh and grievous, and from which they were very deſirous of being releaſed, though the applications made for this purpoſe from time to time to the court of Madrid were conſtantly rejected, either from principles of policy or prudence, to avoid giving offence to the Spaniards, who looked upon this excluſion as one of the higheſt and moſt valuable prerogatives of their monarchy, by which they were particularly diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty [z].

How far the cardinal infant procured this ſevere reſtriction to be mitigated.

But at length the cardinal infant being entruſted with the adminiſtration of theſe countries, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the people, ſolicited Philip the Fourth with ſuch earneſtneſs and aſſiduity, that, about the year 1640, he had almoſt brought this point to bear, and prevailed ſo far as to obtain leave for the inhabitants of the Auſtrian Netherlands to trade in all thoſe parts of the Eaſt Indies that had been conquered, and were poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe; but it fell out unluckily, that before any benefit could be obtained from this grant, the people of Portugal revolted, and then it was thought requiſite to cancel, and even diſavow any ſuch conceſſion, that it might not give offence to the Portugueſe, or prove a hindrance to their ſubmitting again to the crown of Caſtile. It was the more unfortunate for them that no memorial was preſerved of this grant, except a letter from the cardinal infant to the magiſtrates of Antwerp, in which there is no more than his catholic majeſty's being brought to incline

[x] Corps Diplomatique, tom. v. partie i. p. 574. [y] Le Clerc Hiſtoire des Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 148. [z] Hiſtoria de las Indias Occidentales, por Antonio de Herrera, Decad. 1. lib. ii. cap. 4.

to

to ſuch a conceſſion as is mentioned [a]. After this period, we hear nothing farther of ſuch a project for near ſixty years, during which, however, theſe provinces remained in ſubjection to his catholic majeſty. The people, ſenſible of this reſtriction, never intermeddled with this prohibited commerce, and if any of them viſited the Spaniſh territories in America, it was in the king's ſhips, and in his ſervice; in which caſe it was ſuppoſed that they did not fall within the penal clauſe before mentioned; yet, in this time, the inhabitants of the Low Countries were in a very mean and diſtreſſed condition, occaſioned chiefly by the wars with France, and their having often two, ſometimes three armies living upon them [b].

An Eaſt India company ſaid to be eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries by Charles II.

In the reign of Charles the Second, the laſt king of Spain of the houſe of Auſtria, the ſtates of Flanders reſumed this deſign, and having repreſented to that monarch how much ſuch an eſtabliſhment would contribute to the welfare of his ſubjects, and the augmentation of the royal revenue, they procured a charter for erecting a company impowered to trade in ſuch parts of the Eaſt Indies and the coaſt of Guinea, as were not in the poſſeſſion of other nations. The capital was to conſiſt of two millions of florins, one fourth part to be actually raiſed before the end of October 1698, and the reſt in the year 1700 and 1701 [c]. But here again they met with another misfortune; for the treaty of partition being made about this time, damped the ſpirits of the people to ſuch a degree, that the ſcheme could not be carried into execution, and the death of his catholic majeſty following ſoon after, and, immediately upon that, the long war about the right of ſucceſſion, all thoughts of this nature were let fall, at leaſt for the preſent; whereas, if any thing had been done, or ſo much as a ſhip ſent, it might have prevented thoſe diſputes which have given occaſion to this ſection. After the battle of Ramillies in 1706, the Auſtrian Netherlands fell under the protection of the maritime powers, who held it as it were in truſt for his imperial majeſty, into whoſe poſſeſſion it did not come till ten years afterwards, and then, in conſequence of a negociation, by which it paſſed under the ſame reſtrictions to which it had been ſubjected by the crown of Spain in reſpect to the com-

[a] Placarts de Brabant, tom. i. fol. 322. [b] Guiccard. Deſcript. des Pays Bas. [c] La Verité du Fait du Droit, & l'Interêt de tout ce qui concerne les Commerce des Indes, etabli aux Pays Bas Autrichiens, par Octroi S. M. J. & Catholique, ſect. xxxvii.

merce of the Indies. In this ſtate they were when his imperial majeſty declared his ſerene highneſs prince Eugene of Savoy governor-general, and the marquis de Prie counſellor of ſtate, with the power of adminiſtering affairs in his highneſs's abſence, and under his orders, not long after which the thoughts of attempting a correſpondence with the Indies were revived, and ſome attempts made to effect it [d].

When the firſt ſteps were taken for erecting an Eaſt India company at Oſtend.

We may clearly perceive from this deduction that there is no foundation for the ſentiment which commonly prevails, as if the ſubjects of his imperial majeſty were tempted to ſet up an Eaſt India company by the example of the Miſſiſſippi project in France, and the South Sea ſcheme in England; whereas, in truth, this deſign was of an earlier date than either [e]. Some private perſons ſent a ſhip or two in 1717, and theſe meeting with tolerable ſucceſs, were followed the next year by two or three more, authorized only by the governor-general's letters and paſſports; or, as they are ſtyled in the letters and memorials relating to this buſineſs, lettres de mer. In this ſhape the new commerce ſucceeded ſo happily that many were deſirous of engaging in it, and the granting of theſe licences, or lettres de mer, became very lucrative to certain perſons in the adminiſtration. About this time ſome active foreigners began to project the forming of a company at Oſtend, in which deſign they ſoon met with ſo great encouragement, that they ventured to make overtures to the miniſters at Vienna, which were favourably received. In the month of October, 1719, they had the firſt intelligence that one of theſe licenſed ſhips had been ſeized by a Dutch veſſel, in the ſervice of the Weſt India company, on the coaſt of Guinea, and confiſcated with her whole cargo, without ſo much as the ceremony of a proceſs [f]. Of this ſeizure the imperial miniſter complained at the Hague, but could obtain only dark indeterminate anſwers, which manifeſted an intention rather to maintain this action, ſince it was done, than to enter into an explanation of the motives that might ſerve to juſtify it; except that this was an illicit trade, in which ſome merchants of Antwerp had engaged through avarice, and which, if they continued purſuing, would be found rather ruinous than

[d] Rouſſet, Recueil Hiſtorique d'Acts, Negociations, &c. vol. ii. p. 4. [e] Defenſe du Droit de la Compagnie Hollandoiſe des Indes Orientales, &c. [f] La Verité du Droit, & de Interêt de Commerce des Indes, &c. ſect. xxxix.

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advantageous: much the same usage they met with from another quarter, upon a complaint of the like nature, for seizing another ship under colour of her being engaged in an illegal commerce [g].

Reprisals made by virtue of the emperor's commission, upon the Dutch West India company.

But, upon an application to the government in the Austrian Low Countries, signifying the treatment ships had met with under his Imperial majesty's flag, letters of reprisal were easily obtained by the interest of those who began to style themselves a company. Captain Winter, who commanded the vessel that had been taken on the coast of Guinea, conceiving he should be justified by the authority of these letters, proceeded to the Downs, where meeting with his own ship he seized her again, and carried her into Ostend, with a very valuable lading of elephants teeth and gold dust, belonging to the Dutch West India company. That company complaining to the States General, their ministers at Brussels and Vienna interposed warmly, and in their remonstrances they were supported by the influence of Great Britain. The letters of reprisal, however, were insisted upon, and the ministers put in mind of the small regard that had been shewn but a little time before on a like application from his Imperial majesty; so that it was easily perceived, that though they met with many good words, and great assurances of friendship and esteem, yet satisfaction and restitution were hardly to be expected [h]. This was a very hardy and a very extraordinary enterprize, considering the naval force of the maritime powers, and how nearly they were concerned: nevertheless the ministers at Vienna remained firm, and insisted that the subjects of the emperor having been first injured, it was but reasonable they should be the first also that received satisfaction. This pretence drew the negotiation into some length, and as gaining time in such cases is gaining a great deal, so able ministers are never at a loss for expedients in matters of this sort; and their management through the whole was such as shewed them to be perfect masters in that art, than which nothing could be more useful at this juncture, since it served to keep the maritime powers in suspense, and to raise the spirits of his Imperial majesty's subjects, who saw plainly how well inclined the court was to support and protect them [i].

This patronage gave so much credit to the new company, that in the year 1720 they equipped five large ships

[g] Memoires du Temps, p. 391. [h] Ibid. p. 411. [i] Rousset, Recueil Historique d'Acts, Negotiations, &c. vol. ii. p. 4.

The traders under ſome apprehenſions, which, however, are ſoon diſſipated.

for the Indies, and the year following ſix more; three for China, one for Mochá, another for Surat and the coaſt of Malabar, and the ſixth for Bengâl, which provoked the Dutch to ſuch a degree, that they ſeized a veſſel richly laden by the merchants of Bruges, and ordered her cargo to be ſold, notwithſtanding the applications of the Imperial miniſters at the Hague to prevent it. This misfortune was followed by another; an Engliſh privateer made capture on the coaſt of Madagaſcar, of an Oſtend homeward-bound ſhip very richly laden, a circumſtance which ſo diſcouraged the new company, that they ordered a new ſhip they were then fitting out to be laid up[k]: but, in the months of May and June, 1721, they received two ſhips from the Indies, and in the month of September two more, the cargoes of which being expoſed to ſale, went off at ſo round a rate, that they found themſelves not only indemnified for their loſſes, but likewiſe in a condition to carry on their commerce with greater ſucceſs than ever. The only thing they wanted was a legal eſtabliſhment; for though the imperial court had, for a long time, flattered them with the hopes of letters patent, yet they had hitherto delayed them, to avoid an open quarrel with the maritime powers, which, at that juncture eſpecially, would have been very inconvenient[l].

Obtain a promiſe of a charter.

But ſoon after the arrival of theſe laſt mentioned ſhips, the company having money in their hands, and powerful friends at the court of Vienna, reſolved to neglect nothing that might contribute to put their affairs on the beſt foundation poſſible; and with this view they ſent ſome of their directors to court, very well furniſhed with inſtructions and bills for conſiderable ſums of money. Theſe gentlemen managed their affairs with ſuch diligence and prudence, that they obtained a promiſe of a charter as extenſive as they could wiſh, or any company in Europe had received; the draught of which was immediately communicated, and gave them entire ſatisfaction[m]. The emperor likewiſe promiſed to ſend a perſon veſted with a public character to the Great Mogul, to ſettle an alliance with him, and to return him thanks for the permiſſion he had granted the company, not only to erect a factory, but a fort to protect their commerce in his dominions. The proſpect his Imperial majeſty had of enriching his ſubjects in the

[k] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1165. [l] Memoire hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxx. p. 676—781. [m] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1165.

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Low Countries, and augmenting the revenues he drew from thence, by fixing ſo extenſive and profitable a commerce there, engaged him to aſſure the agents of that company of ſtill greater favours. He even intimated, that he would remit all cuſtoms and duties for three whole years, and would make the proprietors a preſent of three hundred thouſand florins in ready money, to indemnify them from any loſſes they might ſuſtain on the firſt eſtabliſhment of their commerce, which muſt, in the nature of things, be regarded as inevitable [n].

SECT. II.

The political Conduct of the States General, the Court of Great Britain, and the Crowns of France and Spain, in order to procure Satisfaction upon this Head, and to prevent the Commerce of their Subjects ſuffering, from the Schemes of the new-erected Company.

THESE favours raiſed ſuch a ſpirit not only among the merchants, bankers, and other perſons concerned in trade and money, but alſo among the nobility and gentry, that they ſhewed an inclination to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in the ſupport of the new company. Not the inhabitants only of theſe provinces, and other ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty, encouraged this undertaking, but alſo the Engliſh, French, and Dutch, who were chiefly concerned in the ſhipping, and in the management of the company's affairs, notwithſtanding they very well knew they could never proſper, but at the expence of their native countries, and of the eſtabliſhments for the ſame commerce long ago erected in them. We need not wonder, therefore, that this new company at Oſtend ſhould occaſion ſuch noiſe throughout all Europe, or excite great diſcord and diſturbance, ſo as to render this chapter as remarkable a part of general hiſtory as any that finds a place therein. But it muſt ſeem a little ſtrange at firſt ſight, that the warmeſt friends, and moſt faithful allies of his Imperial majeſty ſhould be the moſt violent in this oppoſition. One would have imagined, that the emperor had the ſame right in his dominions that other princes and ſtates have in their's; and that how contrary ſoever the erecting ſuch

But the maritime powers interpoſe, in the warmeſt manner poſſible, to prevent it.

[n] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 66. Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1166.

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a company in the Auſtrian Low Countries might be to the intereſts of other nations, they could, however, have no juſt claim to demand or expect that his Imperial majeſty ſhould forego ſuch apparent advantages for their ſakes, or in plain terms, hinder his own ſubjects from becoming rich, that their's might remain ſo. The States General, who thought themſelves moſt aggrieved, were earlieſt and loudeſt in their complaints. Mr. Bruyninx, their envoy at the court of Vienna, preſented a memorial, in which he obſerved, that by the treaty of Munſter, commerce and navigation to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies were regulated and limited with reſpect to the ſubjects of Spain, without farther power of extenſion; and with reſpect to the ſubjects of the States General, it was agreed, that the former ſhould refrain from places which the latter poſſeſſed; that the ſaid treaty was confirmed by the barrier treaty, under the guarantee of his Britannic majeſty; the States therefore amicably required, that the patent granted for navigation and commerce of the Auſtrian Netherlands to the Indies, might be withdrawn, or at leaſt rendered ineffectual [o].

Motives which induced the Dutch to ſtir therein, and what their hopes were of ſucceeding.

Several circumſtances concurred to quicken their High Mightineſſes in taking this ſtep; for, firſt, they were extremely preſſed by their own Eaſt India company, ſome of the principal managers of which had alſo a conſiderable intereſt in the government; next, the ſtate of affairs in Europe ſeemed to add weight to their interpoſition; not that they depended much on the remembrance of ſervices already done, but becauſe they knew there were many things which the imperial court would be glad to do, and which they could not well do without their aſſiſtance; laſtly, it was judged eaſier for them to obtain, and more honourable for the emperor to grant, a total rejection of theſe offers made by the projectors of this new company, before a charter was actually granted [p]. Yet their expectations in this reſpect failed them, and this memorial, however warm and pathetic, had by no means that influence with which they had flattered themſelves, notwithſtanding they had the concurrence, though from very different motives, of one of the greateſt perſonages at, and a miniſter in the higheſt credit with, the court of Vienna. The firſt of theſe was the illuſtrious prince Eugene of Savoy, who,

[o] Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. lxxi. p. 715. Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. viii. p. 346. [p] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxxii. p. 551.

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ſolely out of reſpect to juſtice, and the true intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, declared againſt this meaſure, and, with his uſual candour and plainneſs, foretold, that it could not fail to leſſen that perfect intelligence that had ſo long ſubſiſted between his Imperial majeſty and the maritime powers, and which, in its conſequences, muſt diſturb that ſyſtem upon which the tranquility and independency of Europe was eſtabliſhed. The other was the Marquis de Prie, who, being at the head of the adminiſtration in the Low Countries, was a great gainer by licences, paſſports, and commiſſions, all of which he knew would ceaſe, when the company obtained their charter; and though his oppoſition was leſs reaſonable, yet it was rather more violent (Y).

Precautions uſed in Great Britain, to prevent any of its inhabitants from being concerned in this trade.

In England, things took exactly the ſame turn as in Holland; and the Eaſt India company having, with the conſent of the miniſtry, petitioned the Houſe of Commons upon this ſubject, it began to be conſidered as a national affair. To quicken, however, the parliament in its proceedings, the directors of that company cauſed the

(Y) It may not be amiſs to acquaint the reader with the arguments advanced by ſuch of the imperial miniſters as diſapproved the erection of the Oſtend company. They obſerved, that, independent of all abſtruſe points, it was a fact ſufficiently clear, that the Auſtrian Low Countries were acquired for his Imperial majeſty by the arms, and at the expence of the maritime powers: that, without doubt, when they did this, they could not apprehend that their commerce in the Eaſt Indies would be in any danger of ſuffering from thence, ſince, if they had, there was nothing eaſier than for them to have prevented it: that if his Imperial majeſty entered into the poſſeſſion of theſe countries even under a tacit condition of holding them upon the ſame terms, and in the ſame manner, as they had been held by other princes of the Houſe of Auſtria, the breaking through this condition to the prejudice of the powers by whoſe aſſiſtance theſe countries were obtained, was not conſiſtent either with his intereſt or his glory; and that whatever advantages this new commerce might promiſe, it could not be reckoned ſecure, if the maritime powers had recourſe to violent meaſures; and, at all events, could never balance the detaching thoſe powers from their connections with the Houſe of Auſtria, and obliging them, for the ſake of ſupporting their own intereſts, to enter into a conjunction with that of Bourbon (1).

(1) Recueil hiſtorique d'Acts, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par Monſ. Rouſſet, tom. ii. p. 43.

Dutch

Dutch memorial before mentioned to be tranſlated, and delivered to the members at the door of the houſe, which produced all they could deſire [o]. A committee was immediately appointed, of which Sir Nathaniel Gould was chairman, and, in due time, a report being made, the houſe came to certain reſolutions, upon which a bill was framed for preventing any ſubjects of Great Britain intereſting themſelves in the capital of the Oſtend company, or entering into its ſervice, under very ſevere penalties; which bill paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent, and became a law: this, without doubt, had a conſiderable operation, though it did not totally eradicate the evil, ſome, who were by birth ſubjects of the crown of Great Britain, continuing ſtill to act againſt the public intereſt, for the ſake of acquiring or adding to their private fortunes [p]: but one great end it certainly anſwered, which was, to let the reſt of Europe ſee, that the court and the nation had the ſame ſentiment upon this head; and that the maritime powers were determined to take the ſame part, as they were alike concerned in intereſt in the event of this tranſaction [q].

His Imperial Majeſty's charter granted, and publiſhed in the Low Countries.

It was very reaſonably imagined, that the court of Vienna would, from a tenderneſs for its own intereſts, have reconſidered this point, and endeavoured to find ſome means to pacify thoſe powers, by whoſe treaſures and armies thoſe very countries were acquired, which had given riſe to this diſpute: but, notwithſtanding the joint ſolicitations of the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters, the emperor ſeemed more and more determined to maintain his point; and therefore, in the month of Auguſt, 1723, actually publiſhed, as at the cloſe of the preceding year he had granted, his letters patent to the Oſtend company, though with ſome variations from the plan before laid down. In the preamble to theſe letters, the emperor not only took all the titles of the head of the houſe of Auſtria, but likewiſe thoſe of the king of Spain, and, in particular, ſtyled himſelf king of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, of the Canary Iſlands, &c. with a view probably to grace this new and ample grant to the Oſtend company, which was eſtabliſhed for thirty years, with licence to trade to the Eaſt Indies and Weſt, and on all the coaſts of Africa, on this ſide and on the other ſide the Cape of

[o] Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. viii. p. 346. [p] Chronological Diary for 1723, p. 26. [q] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 66.

Good

Good Hope, their ſhips obſerving the uſual cuſtoms; ſo that, ſuppoſing it could be maintained, a more ample charter could hardly be deſired [r] (Z).

Subſtance of this new and ample inſtrument in favour of the company.

The capital, however, of the company was, by theſe letters, reduced to ſix millions of florins, and the number of their actions to ſix thouſand; but, in other reſpects, they had all the powers and privileges laid down in the firſt plan, and many more; for they were permitted to build forts and caſtles in whatever parts of the East Indies they ſhould think fit, as alſo to furniſh them with all kinds of arms, artillery, and ammunition, that they thought convenient. They were likewiſe allowed to build and equip ſhips, of whatever ſize and ſtrength they thought proper, in any of the ports of his Imperial majeſty's dominions in the Low Countries, Italy, or elſewhere; as alſo to make leagues, treaties, and alliances, with the ſovereign princes and ſtates of the Indies, in the name of his Imperial majeſty, with this reſtriction only, that they ſhould not make war on any potentate whatever, without the

[r] Recueil Hiſtorique d'Acts, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. Rouſſet, tom. ii. p. 5.

(Z) The readineſs with which the managers of this new commerce found money, and whatever elſe was requiſite to ſupport their deſign, proceeded chiefly from that extravagant appetite for gain that prevailed at this time through all Europe, as the diſcovery of various frauds committed by the ſervants of ſuch companies as had already an eſtabliſhed trade in the Indies, furniſhed them with agents and underſervants extremely capable of managing their affairs; and to theſe therefore we ought to attribute that ſurpriſing alacrity with which they cauſed ſquadron after ſquadron to put to ſea. Thus, notwithſtanding they had, in 1720, ſent ſix ſhips richly laden to the Indies, yet, in 1721, they equipped the like number, of which three were deſtined for China, one for Mocha, one for Surat and the coaſt of Malabar, and one for the bay of Bengal. They gave out alſo, to encourage and keep up the ſpirit of thoſe who favoured them, that they had not only procured leave from the Great Mogul to build a fort, for the ſecurity of their factory, in his dominions, in which there was ſome truth, but alſo that they had obtained permiſſion to eſtabliſh themſelves in China, though that was afterwards found to have no foundation at all. Nevertheleſs, they had a good intereſt there, and were as well received as any Europeans (1).

(1) Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1165.

leave

leave of his Imperial majeſty and his ſucceſſors firſt had and obtained. In conſideration of all which grants, privileges, benefits, and advantages, the ſaid company bound themſelves to offer, as a homage to his Imperial majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, on every ſucceſſion, a golden lion crowned, of the weight of twenty marks, holding under his two fore-paws the arms of the company, which were a ſpread-eagle diſplayed, with the terreſtrial globe between his two heads, ſurmounted by an imperial crown. Laſtly, his Imperial majeſty undertook to protect and defend the ſaid new company, againſt all who ſhould unjuſtly attack them, and ſhould even, in caſe of neceſſity, employ the whole force of his dominions, to ſupport and maintain them in the full and free poſſeſſion and entire enjoyment of the commerce and navigation granted them by theſe letters, and obtain for them full damages and ſatisfaction, from any nation, ſtate, or potentate, that ſhould preſume to trouble or diſturb them; and ſhould likewiſe, for the future, provide, in every reſpect for their ſafety and welfare, by any treaties, alliances, or leagues, into which his Imperial majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, ſhould hereafter enter with any power whatever [s].

Attended with all imaginable circumſtances of ſucceſs on the firſt appearance.

As ſoon as theſe letters patent were publiſhed, and regiſtered in the ſovereign courts of the Auſtrian Low Countries, the directors taking poſſeſſion of their offices, held ſoon after their firſt general court; in which it was reſolved, that the books of the company ſhould be opened at Antwerp, on the 11th of Auguſt; they were opened accordingly, and that with ſuch ſucceſs as ſurpriſed all Europe; for the next day by noon the capital was entirely ſubſcribed, and by the end of the month of Auguſt the ſtock of the Oſtend company was fifteen per cent. above par [t]. The affairs of this new ſociety were no leſs flouriſhing in the Indies, where the perſons they employed, being moſt of them ſuch as had ſerved before either the Engliſh or the Dutch Eaſt India companies, found ways and means to ſettle factories, with amazing facility and ſucceſs, and to puſh their trade in ſuch a manner, as very evidently ſhewed, that if the intereſt of ſuch as oppoſed this company did not effect its ſuppreſſion in Europe,

[s] Lettres Patentes, &c. imprimees à Bruxelles par Eugenes Henri Friex, imprimeur de ſa Majeſté Imperiale et Catholique, en 1723, in 4to. [t] Mercure Hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxxv. p. 229.

their

their efforts in the Indies would do little, unleſs they had recourſe to open force, ſince all the arts to decry them at the courts of infidel princes had been already put in practice without effect [u].

SECT. III.

The Progreſs of this Oppoſition.

Application of the Dutch Eaſt India company to the States, and their conduct on this occaſion.

THE Dutch Eaſt India company preſented, in leſs than a fortnight, two memorials to the States General; in which they ſcarce kept any meaſures, but plainly intimated, that, as the eſtabliſhment of this new company was in direct violation of treaties, ſo they ought to be left at liberty to act as if thoſe treaties no longer ſubſiſted, and do themſelves that juſtice by arms, which was every day more and more apparent could not be obtained any other way. The States, however, were by no means inclined to break with his Imperial majeſty, if by any methods they might avoid a rupture. They therefore ſtill continued their applications at the court of Vienna, in conjunction with Great Britain, to obtain the revocation of the authority by which the new company acted, or at leaſt a ſuſpenſion of it; and, in the meantime, they made ſuch laws at home in favour of their own India company, as they thought requiſite, to prevent any of the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes from having concern either in the capital of the Eaſt India company in the Auſtrian Netherlands, or in the management of their affairs in the Indies [y]; on the other hand, the agents of the Dutch company in the Indies, though they did not proceed to direct acts of violence, took ſuch methods in that part of the world, where their power is ſo great and ſo extenſive, as gave this new ſociety infinite trouble, by cramping their trade, and rendering it precarious; in which they were ſo well ſeconded by the Engliſh, that nothing but the activity and abilities of the perſons concerned, and their finding themſelves in a manner deſperate, in caſe it did not ſucceed, could have kept it on foot, in ſpite of the difficulties and inconveniences which they every day experienced [z].

[u] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 73. [x] Memoire Hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxxv. p. 235. [y] Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 72. [z] From private information of ſuch as were then reſident in the Indies.

Not

The crown of France declares againſt this eſtabliſhment, and provides for her own ſecurity.

Not only Great Britain and Holland exerted themſelves againſt this new eſtabliſhment: France likewiſe began to take umbrage at a ſcheme which threatened deſtruction to that eſtabliſhment of the ſame kind, which ſhe was endeavouring to erect; and therefore, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's council publiſhed a declaration, dated the 16th of Auguſt, 1723, by which all the ſubjects of the crown of France were forbid to intereſt themſelves, in any manner whatever, in the capital of the Oſtend company, under pain of forfeiting three thouſand livres for every act of offence, beſides incurring the confiſcation of whatever they ſhould ſubſcribe into the capital of the ſaid company; and in caſe of a ſecond offence, the ſame fine and forfeiture, together with baniſhment for three years. By the ſecond article of this declaration, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty directed, that in caſe the effects his ſubjects might acquire by intereſting themſelves in the ſtock of this new company could not be reached, ſo as to make them liable to the confiſcation before mentioned, then their effects and fortunes in France ſhould be liable to the like ſeizures and forfeitures, until the ſums in which they were ſo concerned in the Auſtrian company ſhould be raiſed and levied: and all this in the ſhort, ſummary, and extraordinary method deſcribed by the royal ordinance of 1670. By the third article, all ſeamen, manufacturers, tradeſmen, and in general all the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, were ſtrictly prohibited and forbid to enter, in any manner or quality, into the ſervice of the ſaid Oſtend company, on pain of impriſonment, and forfeiture of all their effects. By the fourth article, all perſons whatever were prohibited from inviting, inliſting, inrolling, or otherwiſe entering into the ſervice of the ſaid company, any of the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in quality of officers, ſoldiers, ſeamen, or in any other quality or manner, as alſo to ſell, or buy, or lend, or equip any veſſel for the ſervice of the ſaid company, on pain of the pillory for the firſt offence, and of being ſent to the gallies for the ſecond, beſides the confiſcation of all that ſhould be thus bought or ſold, and a fine of three thouſand livres each on both the buyer and ſeller[a]. The weight of all theſe great powers ſeemed more than ſufficient to cruſh this infant company, how much ſoever it might be the inclination and the intereſt of his Imperial majeſty to cheriſh and ſupport it.

[a] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1169.

It

It was not long, however, before another great potentate interfered likewiſe, and declared himſelf with equal vehemence againſt this new eſtabliſhment. This was his late catholic majeſty Philip the Fifth, who viewed this affair preciſely in the ſame light with the maritime powers, as appears from a repreſentation preſented to his Britannic majeſty, by the Spaniſh miniſter, on the 26th of April 1724, conceived in the moſt expreſs terms, and demonſtrating the injuſtice and illegality of this new eſtabliſhment [b], proving it utterly inconſiſtent with the treaty of Munſter, by which the crown of Spain engaged not to diſturb the navigation of the Dutch to their Eaſt Indies, in conſideration of a reciprocal engagement on their ſide not to diſturb the commerce of the ſubjects of the crown of Spain in that part of the world. It was by theſe reciprocal ſtipulations, that the ſubjects of the crown of Spain in the Low Countries were reſtrained from trading to the Eaſt Indies; and it was under theſe reſtrictions that the Spaniſh Low Countries were yielded to the elector of Bavaria, and by France, with his conſent, to the houſe of Auſtria, upon expreſs condition, that this houſe ſhould hold them in the ſame manner, and under the ſame reſtrictions, as they had been held by the crown of Spain, for which condition their High Mightineſſes likewiſe engaged: ſo that if the Oſtend company might be legally eſtabliſhed, it would turn as much to the detriment of Spain as to that of the States General, contrary to the meaning and intention of all theſe treaties and alliances made for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the tranquility of Europe; but, by this conſtruction, if it could be put upon them, rendered hurtful and ruinous to all parties, ſave the emperor alone, and deſtructive of themſelves. Such was the repreſentation of the marquis de Pozzo Bueno at the court of London, and ſo clearly was his catholic majeſty, at that time, convinced, that the eſtabliſhment of the Oſtend company was inconſiſtent with his own particular intereſt, as well as with the general ſyſtem of Europe.

An example, which is copied alſo by the crown of Spain, in a manner the moſt public.

The contents of this memorial very evidently ſhew, that the natural and unbiaſſed ſentiments of the Spaniſh miniſters were the very ſame with reſpect to the right of his Imperial majeſty, to eſtabliſh an Eaſt India company in the Auſtrian Netherlands, with thoſe of the ſtateſmen in England, France, and Holland, which is a point

Some remarks on the ſubſtance of the Spaniſh memorial, and the judgment of the Spaniſh miniſters.

[b] Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. Rouſſet, tom. ii. p. 76.

of very great, and will be of perpetual importance, becauſe the treaty of Munſter, in which the catholic king and the States were contracting parties, is explained on both ſides in the ſame way; ſo that, if there can be any thing certain or ſettled in modern politics, it muſt be the true ſenſe of thoſe articles in that treaty upon which the States General founded their demand, ſince the Spaniſh court teſtified, that they underſtood their meaning as the States did; whereas it was inſiſted on by the advocates for the Oſtend company, that thoſe articles had no ſuch meaning; except, in the opinion of the Dutch, which by this memorial is abſolutely contradicted. The only objection that can poſſibly be made to this reaſoning is, that the Spaniſh miniſters were induced to acknowlege this the genuine meaning, becauſe it was the intereſt of the crown of Spain: but to this the moſt ſatisfactory anſwer may be given; for if theſe articles, ſo interpreted, fall in equally with the intereſts of Spain and the Republic, this is the moſt deciſive proof that this was the original and only meaning of thoſe articles, becauſe it is to be preſumed in all treaties, that the mutual benefit of the contracting parties is equally conſidered. However it might be in the courſe of theſe diſputes, it was actually proved that the court of Spain had already regarded the thing in this light, and had ever taken this to be the ſenſe of thoſe articles in its greateſt rigour.

SECT. IV.

His Catholic Majeſty makes a ſhort Turn, and though his Right of Oppoſition was the ſtrongeſt of any, enters into a Treaty with the Emperor; and in Conſequence of that Meaſure, undertakes the Protection and Support of the New Company, which alarms all the other Powers, and produces the Treaty of Hanover.

Notwithſtanding which they ſuddenly change ſides, and an alliance is concluded with the emperor.

THINGS, however, ſoon after, changed their appearance, and in conſequence of ſome private negociations, the court of Spain departed of a ſudden from all its former maxims, and not only concluded a definitive treaty with his imperial majeſty, but a formal alliance alſo; and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, a treaty of commerce, dated at Vienna, May 1, 1725, manifeſtly contrary to its own intereſts, as well as directly repugnant to what in this

this memorial had been laid down, as the judgment of his catholic majeſty, upon the ſubject of this new commerce[c].

It is not neceſſary to our purpoſe to enter deeply into the enquiry upon what motives the court of Madrid acted in the courſe of theſe negociations. It is ſufficient to obſerve that, let thoſe motives be what they would, it was impoſſible they ſhould diſſolve the engagements that either their imperial or catholic majeſties had formerly entered into with other princes and ſtates; and therefore it was very reaſonable for ſuch as thought themſelves injured by this new treaty, to inſiſt upon ſo plain and ſo ſelf-evident a principle. The great ſecrecy with which this negociation was managed, which produced theſe treaties, was an argument that this was foreſeen by the courts that concluded them; and, indeed, hardly any thing happened within the compaſs of men's memories that occaſioned more univerſal aſtoniſhment than this ſudden and ſurprizing union between powers that had ſo long manifeſted an irreconcileable averſion; but, however, this would not have given any great diſtaſte to their allies, if they had not been perſuaded by this treaty of commerce, eſpecially, that their intereſts were to be ſacrificed to this new friendſhip, which they could not, and indeed had no reaſon to bear with patience, or paſs over in ſilence.

This meaſure diſturbs France and the maritime powers.

On the concluſion of this treaty the Oſtend company ſeemed to be fixed upon ſo ſolid a foundation, that enemies and friends concluded they were not to be ſhaken, much leſs ruined and diſſolved, by leſs than a general war; a thing hard of digeſtion to the maritime powers, who were very unwilling to pull down the work of their own hands, and to deſtroy that bulwark which, with ſo much difficulty, and expence of blood and treaſure, they had erected for their own ſecurity. On the other hand, they were no leſs unwilling to ſee the commerce of their ſubjects torn away by a prince who had never been inveſted with this power of ruining them, but by the pains they had taken for his preſervation; but, to return to matters of fact. The Eaſt-India company in Holland were ſo much alarmed with the thoughts of ſeeing this new company on a better footing than themſelves, that they could not forbear once more repreſenting their apprehenſions to their High Mightineſſes, in a memorial that ſtated clearly as well his imperial majeſty's departure from treaties in

[c] Corps Univerſelle Diplomatique, tom. viii. part xi. p. 106. 109, 114.

the setting up of a new company in the Austrian Netherlannds, as his catholic majesty's breach of the fundamental maxims of the Spanish monarchy, and his direct violation of those treaties, to the conclusion of which he owed his crown [d].

New memorials to the States from the Dutch East India company.

At the conclusion of this memorial there was a kind of insinuation couched, indeed in dark and ambiguous terms, but intelligible enough to the penetrating reader, that the company could take no notice of these new treaties, in which the States General had no share, but must regulate their conduct by the old ones, in which they were determined to be very punctual: but notwithstanding this was understood to hint at very vigorous proceedings in the Indies, yet it did not much alarm the two great courts that now made this new trade a common cause, neither did it deter the directors of the Ostend company from fitting out more ships for the Indies, or from making another call upon their capital, which was, generally speaking, complied with, and by which they were in possession of three fourths of the whole money subscribed, amounting, in the whole, to about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money. This spirit mortified the Dutch East India company exceedingly; they knew very well, that if their hands were at liberty, they could easily rid themselves of their enemies in the Indies, without waiting for the suppression of the company in Europe; but they were at the same time sensible of the bad effects this might have, and that the latter, though it was plainly the slower method, was by much the safest. They did not fail, however, to represent to the States General, that while they were deliberating, the Austrian company were trading, the number of their ships increasing, their credit augmenting, and their interest in the Indies spreading daily farther and farther. They insisted, therefore, that no time was to be lost; that a categorical answer ought to be obtained from the courts of Vienna and Madrid; that, for want of this, their High Mightinesses might be still kept in a state of inaction, which was all that the protectors of the Ostend company could desire, since the last call upon their capital would enable them to erect some good fortress in the Indies, where their flag began already to be known and respected; so that, if no way was left of crushing them but by force, it ought not to be long de-

[d] Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negociations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. Rousset, tom. ii. p. 199.

layed,

layed, since, if it was, even that method would not be left [e].

What they aimed at by these repeated applications was, to engage the States to take into their serious consideration how the East India trade was to be preserved, in case their negociations should prove, as hitherto they had done, altogether ineffectual; and also, that they might engage them to press the two courts so closely, as that they might be obliged to declare, whether they meant to carry things to extremities, or were inclined to propose some terms upon which this new company might be suppressed, that they might know what measures themselves were to take, and what assistance the republic would expect from them in a case where the commonwealth might be obliged to risk its own safety in defence of those privileges which they had granted to this company. Of the expediency and even necessity of taking some such vigorous step the States General were so sensible, that they resolved to repeat their applications at the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in order to obtain redress [f]. They were strongly seconded by the courts of London and Paris, who, in the mean time, considering how little advantage had hitherto been obtained by slow and pacific measures, resolved, if possible, to quicken them by some step of another kind, which might convince both the emperor and king of Spain, that they were not to be frighted with high words, or persuaded out of their property. They took advantage, therefore, of the disposition the king of Prussia was in, who saw with some displeasure the exorbitant, and, as he conceived, the anti-constitutional power of the emperor in Germany, the consequences of which he thought might be fatal to the prerogatives of himself and of other princes, with which notions striking in, they concluded a defensive treaty at Hanover, dated September 3, 1725; which treaty was to subsist for fifteen years, and to which the States General were to be invited to accede [g]. Though there is not the least mention in this treaty of the Ostend company, yet, in the second article, it being provided that the contracting powers guaranty not only each other's dominions, countries, and cities, as well in as out of Europe, but also all their rights, privileges, and advantages, particularly those relating to trade, it was well enough

But their High Mightinesses were still inclined to delay coming to extremities.

[e] Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negociations, Memoires, & Traitez, par Rousset, tom. ii. p. 213. [f] Historical Register, vol. xi. p. 25. [g] Corps Universelle Diplomatique, tom. viii. partie ii. p. 127.

underſtood, that under this phraſe particularly, the Oſtend company was included, ſince it was impoſſible it ſhould ſo ſubſiſt, and the contracting parties preſerve their rights and privileges relating to trade. As ſoon as this alliance was concluded, it was not only made known to the States General at the Hague, but they were likewiſe invited and preſſed to come into it as the moſt effectual, and indeed the only way of procuring what they of all other powers were moſt intereſted to procure, the abolition of the new company; for, while the emperor and the king of Spain continued ſo cloſely united, and the reſt of the princes of Europe unconnected by any counter-alliance, it was evident they had it in their power to do what they pleaſed, which was likewiſe viſible they intended to uſe for many purpoſes abſolutely irreconcileable to the intereſt of other princes and ſtates; more eſpecially in the caſe of this company, which ſtood now upon ſuch a foundation as muſt have enabled it in a few years to have ſuſtained itſelf againſt any force brought to diſturb it, ſince never any eſtabliſhmentof this kind was poſſeſſed of equal advantages, or ſupported by the authority of two ſuch potentates.

Are ſlow in reſolving whether they ſhould accede to the treaty of Hanover.

But the Dutch, though they could not help acknowleging in general terms, the wiſdom and prudence of the treaty of Hanover, yet did not immediately accede to it; on the contrary, they reſolved to try once more the force of applications at the court of Madrid. It was with this view that they directed Mr. Vander Meer, their ambaſſador at that court, to preſent a memorial, to demonſtrate the injuſtice that was done them by this late treaty with the emperor, which memorial was actually preſented one the 4th of November, 1725, and contained a moſt excellent deduction of their rights under ſeveral treaties, and a very ſtrong, though ſuccinct repreſentation of the infractions upon theſe rights, made by the treaty of which they complained. This memorial was ſupported by the Engliſh and French miniſters, though preſented only by the Dutch, and though the miniſtry diſſembled it as much as poſſible, yet it was known that ſome of the ableſt members of his catholic majeſty's council, made no ſcruple of declaring, that the facts laid down in that memorial were not to be denied; ſo that, from this time, there wanted not a party in Spain that teſtified as great reſentment againſt the conceſſions in the late treaty of commerce, as the miniſters of the maritime powers. By degrees, this humour prevailed ſo far, that a paper was affixed at the

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gate of his catholic majeſty's miniſter at Rome, containing theſe words: "The Spaniſh nation do hereby promiſe a reward of a hundred piſtoles to any ingenious perſon who ſhall point out a ſingle article in the three treaties lately concluded at Vienna, by which they are to be gainers [h].

As ſoon as the concluſion of the Hanover treaty was reported in the Auſtrian Low Countries, the proprietors of the Oſtend company diſcovered great uneaſineſs, upon which their directors called a general court, and declared therein a dividend of the ſix per cent. upon their whole capital; though there was ſtill a fourth part unpaid. There is no doubt that this was a very prudent meaſure, and well-timed, but all the effect it had was to keep their ſtock from ſinking ſo faſt as it would otherwiſe have done [i]. The directors likewiſe ſent more ſhips to the Indies, and applied themſelves with greater earneſtneſs than ever to their protectors at Vienna, who gave them all the aſſiſtance in their power; and indeed the imperial court for ſome time appeared firm in its reſolution to ſupport an eſtabliſhment that in ſo ſhort a time had been brought to bear, and the advantages reſulting from which were perfectly well underſtood. This intelligence, however, was no ſooner divulged, that the Engliſh had ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into the American ſeas, in order to block up the galleons, than all the politicians began to apprehend that the period was at hand when the new alliances that had created ſo much wonder throughout Europe, would be gradually broken and diſſolved, without creating any wonder at all, and therefore ſuch as were cautious, and could find any opportunity, diſpoſed of their actions in the new Eaſt India company, in order to place their money in other funds, where, if it produced leſs, it might be however more ſecure. Theſe precautions, though taken with as much privacy as poſſible, operated much to the diſadvantage of the Oſtend company, and more eſpecially, as it deprived them of the advice of ſome very able heads at a time when their aſſiſtance was become moſt neceſſary [k].

But notwithſtanding this, the company at Oſtend feel the weight of that alliance.

But whatever might paſs in the cabinets of princes, the public face of affairs ſtill continued to wear a threatning aſpect, and the two potent confederates, notwithſtanding they ſaw how much the game was againſt them, did not haſtily throw up the cards. On the contrary, the court of Spain

Conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid towards the States General on this treaty.

[h] Remarks on the Treaty of Hanover, p. 33. Hiſtorique & Politique, vol. lxxix. p. 694. Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 71.

[i] Mercure

[k] Hiſtoire des

ſet a good face upon the matter, entertained the Dutch miniſter at Madrid with the faireſt words poſſible, and with unuſual marks of civility and reſpect. He affected to make light of the remonſtrances from the French and Engliſh miniſters, and actually ſent an ambaſſador into Holland to perſuade the States General not only to refuſe their concurrence to the Hanover treaty, but even to accede, under certain reſtrictions, to that of Vienna. The emperor on his ſide ſhewed as great obſtinacy, and indeed with more reaſon, for all the articles of the Vienna alliance were entirely in his favour, and the eſtabliſhing the Oſtend company in the manner he deſigned, was a point of ſuch infinite conſequence, both with reſpect to honour and intereſt, that we need not at all wonder that he puſhed it on in the manner he did, or that he laboured by ſeveral negotiations in the North to engage moſt of the crowns there in the ſupport of his ſchemes, in which at firſt he had extraordinary ſucceſs, but by degrees the aſpect of affairs was changed, by meaſures which we ſhall next explain [l].

Their High Mightineſſes tired with ineffectual remonſtrances, acceded to the treaty.

The States General, ſeeing how little they were able to effect by memorials and repreſentations, and beginning to feel daily more and more the bad conſequences of the eſtabliſhment of the Oſtend company, with regard to their commerce in the Indies, took at laſt a reſolution of acceding to the treaty of Hanover. They did accede accordingly, a ſtep which very clearly demonſtrated to the courts of Vienna and Madrid that it was impoſſible to proſecute their deſigns farther without the immediate hazard of a war [m]. Spain ſeemed reſolved to run the riſk, and actually committed hoſtilities againſt Great Britain, by beſieging Gibraltar, with very little effect, and without any aſſiſtance from the emperor, who on his ſide was unable to make the neceſſary proviſions for a rupture without receiving ſuch ſupplies from Spain as at that time ſhe could not afford. The court of France remained ſteady to her engagements, and appeared ſo willing to enter into a war againſt Spain, in conjunction with the maritime powers, that this court at length began to diſlike the ſituation ſhe was in, and to wiſh for reaſonable terms. The court of Vienna perceiving that Spain began to open her eyes to her own intereſt, and having never had really any inclination to comply with a certain marriage which their catholic

[l] Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par Rouſſet, tom. iii. p. 151, 158. 314. 337. [m] Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. xi. p. 39.

majeſties

majeſties had ſet their hearts upon, thought likewiſe of a timely return to her old friends, and of renewing thoſe engagements which had been formerly productive of ſo many and ſo great advantages [n].

SECT. V.

After a long Train of Operations and Negociations, the Court of Vienna, finding it abſolutely neceſſary to temporize, conſent to a Suſpenſion of the Company's Charter, in Hopes of gaining Time, and availing themſelves of ſome more favourable Conjuncture for reviving, and carrying their Scheme into Execution.

THINGS being in this ſituation, it was not long before preliminaries were ſettled, in which there was an article that took away for the preſent thoſe apprehenſions that the ſettlement of this company had raiſed. It was ſome time before it could be ſo digeſted as to ſatisfy all parties; but at length, the preliminaries being abſolutely ſettled and ſigned at Paris on the 20th of May, 1727, the firſt article of them ran thus: "His imperial and catholic majeſty, having no other view than to contribute to the public tranquility of Europe, and obſerving that the commerce of Oſtend has given birth to jealouſy and uneaſineſs, conſents that there ſhall be a ſuſpenſion of the charter of the Oſtend company, and of all the traffick between the Auſtrian Netherlands and the Indies during the term of ſeven years. By the fifth article of the ſame preliminaries it was agreed, that the ſhips which ſailed from Oſtend before this convention, the names whereof were to be given in a liſt on the part of his imperial majeſty, were to be permitted ſafely to return home; and in caſe any of them ſhould be taken, it was agreed that they ſhould be bona fide reſtored with their cargoes [o]." This article gave the deciſive blow to the new company at Oſtend, notwithſtanding the proſperous condition in which their affairs had been affirmed to be in the month of September preceding, when, in a general aſſembly of the proprietors, the directors had declared, that their laſt ſale having produced upwards of five millions of florins, they had placed

Preliminaries ſettled and ſigned at Paris, by which the commerce of the Oſtend company is ſuſpended.

[n] Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez. par Rouſſet, tom. ii. p. 382. [o] Corps Univerſelle Diplomatique, tom. viii. p. xi. p. 146.

a part

a part thereof to the account of their capital, which being thereby rendered complete, they had no farther demands upon their ſubſcribers, which was therefore looked upon as equivalent to a dividend of twenty-five per cent [p].

On what reaſons the preſumption is grounded, that the ſuppreſſion was intended, when the ſuſpenſion only of this company was ſtipulated by treaty.

It may be obſerved, that the ancient allies of his imperial majeſty were content, provided they received full ſatisfaction, that it ſhould be given in the gentleſt manner, and in that which leaſt affected the credit and authority of ſo great a monarch; for it is not to be doubted, that though nothing more than a temporary ſuſpenſion appeared, in the preliminaries, yet an abſolute ſuppreſſion of the Oſtend company was concluded, for nothing leſs could anſwer the ends of the maritime powers, nor would they have gained any thing by this ſuſpenſion of commerce for ſeven years, conſidering what was ſtipulated on their ſide, but would rather have done their competitors a favour. Whereas, conſidering it in the other light, and that they relied on the tacit aſſurances given them, with which his imperial majeſty afterwards punctually complied, that the commerce of this company ſhould never be reſtored to activity, their conceſſion appears to have been well founded, and to have been a caution neceſſary for preventing new jealouſies or diſputes, which it was expedient for both parties to avoid as much as poſſible; and thus this thorny and perplexed buſineſs was at length adjuſted, which had ſo long attracted the attention of all Europe, the emperor preferring the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion in his family, and the welfare of his dominions in general to this favourite project on the behalf of the Auſtrian Low Countries; as, on the other hand, the Hanover allies ſatisfied in carrying this great point, were willing to afford his Imperial Majeſty, as they ſome time after did, the moſt convincing marks of a ſincere and thorough reconciliation [q].

The facts laid down in this account make the hiſtory of this ſection independent of arguments.

There have been, we are very ſenſible, accounts very different from this, in regard to the motives, meaſures, and iſſue of the Hanover alliance, in which it is ſuggeſted that the plan of the Eaſt Indies was only a plauſible pretence; that the real ends of that alliance were of very little, if any, importance to the maritime powers; and that in the concluſion, France found her particular intereſt better ſerved by this treaty than any other power. It would be much beſide our purpoſe to enter into this controverſy,

[p] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, vol. lxxxi. p. 358, 359.
[q] Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par Rouſſet, tom. v. p. 133, 134, 135.

which,

which, whatever way it turns, will not in any degree affect what we have advanced; to prove which, is indeed the only reaſon that we mentioned it. For whether this new commerce to the Indies was in itſelf ſo directly contrary to treaties, or whether the deſtroying it was the prime ground of Great Britain's entering into this alliance, are matters which we are not bound to diſcuſs.

Motives which induced the miniſters of the court of Vienna to protract as much as poſſible.

It was not barely attachment to punctilio, and a deſire of having every thing treated with the greateſt decorum, that induced the Imperial miniſters to procure the firſt point in the preliminaries to mention a ſuſpenſion only; though a ſuppreſſion was really intended of the company at Oſtend, they had ſeveral other reaſons for inſiſting upon that ſtep; and, as ſome of theſe regard our ſubject, we ſhall mention them. The hopes of ſharing in this lucrative commerce, having brought many rich as well as active people to intereſt themſelves therein, it was held convenient to manage this affair with much caution, to avoid as far as poſſible, either injuring or diſobliging them, towards which, nothing could contribute more than proceeding with viſible ſlowneſs and reluctancy on the part of his imperial majeſty[r]. The gaining time in this matter was of conſequence to the imperial miniſters in another reſpect, as it afforded them an opportunity of magnifying the ſacrifice they had made, and of procuring reciprocal acts of friendſhip from thoſe in whoſe favour they had made it, which, in proceſs of time, they in a great meaſure accompliſhed by the ſubſequent treaty of Vienna. Laſtly, it afforded them leiſure to conſider whether, notwithſtanding the ſuppreſſing the company at Oſtend, ſome other method might not be found for eſtabliſhing either that, or the like beneficial commerce, in ſome other part of his imperial majeſty's dominions, where it might not be liable to thoſe formidable objections which had been already raiſed againſt this attempt in the Auſtrian Netherlands, in which endeavours, however, they were not very lucky, though they employed much attention, and ſpared no pains about it; and as this likewiſe has a ſtrict connection with our ſubject, it will not be amiſs to ſhew the nature of thoſe endeavours in a manner as clear and as ſuccinct as poſſible[s].

[r] Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par Rouſſet, tom. vi. p. 3.

[s] Mercure Hiſtorique et Politique, tom. lxxx. p. 630.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Methods taken to support the Company, and elude all Stipulations for suppressing their Commerce with the Indies, by obtaining Passports from neutral Powers, and bringing their Cargoes into different Ports, which protracted Things for some Time, but in the End proved ineffectual.

A project for transferring this commerce to some other ports in his Imperial Majesty's dominions.

THE places that were thought of upon this occasion were Trieste and Fiume, two small towns about fifty miles asunder. The former is situated in the principality of Carniola, at the bottom of a gulf which passes by the same name, and opens into that of Venice; the other in Croatia, upon the gulf of Venice likewise, with several islands before it. The peninsula of Istria lies between them, which belongs to the republic of Venice; and the communication through the country behind them is none of the safest or most convenient. These ports are neither of them large or commodious; of some improvements indeed they are capable, and these have been made, and the fortifications, which were tolerable, repaired [t]. After all, however, they were but poor places and ill situated, so that it was plain the chief recommendation arose from their being the only ports that the emperor had: all the measures were practised that could be devised to give these little havens an air of importance; the mole at Trieste was completed, magazines were erected, and a man of war was said to be put upon the stocks. At Fiume, the harbour was cleansed, a fort or two were erected in its neighbourhood, and an inspector of marine sent thither. New privileges were granted to the inhabitants; all sorts of immunities offered to strangers who would settle there; and, in a word, every art practised that might probably contribute to draw trade to them; and, as marks still of greater favour, his imperial majesty, Charles the Sixth, went thither towards the close of the year 1728, saw the man of war launched at Trieste, and made his public entry into Fiume, where a triumphal arch was erected with a pompous inscription, celebrating his great power by sea as well as land, and complimenting him on his being the protector

[t] Geographie Moderne, par Abraham du Bois, p. 189.

of

of commerce, and the guardian of the arts of peace. But all was ineffectual, the defects of theſe places were apparent and not to be remedied; ſo that all the rhetoric of the court of Vienna was thrown away, and ſuch of the Oſtend projectors as embarked in this ſcheme, loſt ſome of their money, and all their reputation [u].

But, notwithſtanding all imaginable endeavours to bring it to bear, proves abortive.

The manufactories too, that had been erected in the duchy of Auſtria, and in other of the hereditary dominions, hardly ſupported themſelves. Theſe diſappointments drove the undertakers for eſtabliſhing an Eaſt India commerce, from the imperial court, and leſſened very much that attention, which, for ſome years, the principal miniſters had paid to trade; which they began to conſider as a plant of foreign growth, that would not thrive in any ſoil where they could place it: ſome of the younger miniſters, however, began to take a pleaſure in conſidering theſe ſchemes, and enquiring into the true cauſes of their proving always abortive, which they quickly diſcovered to be their introduction by ſtrangers, to whom the people in thoſe countries have a great averſion, the weight of their taxes, and the bad management of the finances, by which all branches of public ſervice were in arrear, at the ſame time that the ſubject was exhauſted, and in no capacity of undertaking any thing that would do more than ſupply immediate ſubſiſtence. By degrees, as ſome of theſe ſtateſmen have riſen in employments, they have made uſe of ſuch lights as thoſe enquiries furniſhed, have put many things upon a better footing, rendered the great roads more commodious, and have brought ſeveral manufactures to bear; all which ought to be attributed to the memorials that were preſented by ſuch, as if the thing had been practicable, would have repaired the loſs the ſubjects of his imperial majeſty had ſuſtained by the ſuppreſſion of the company at Oſtend; and if, in thoſe days the court had been as well diſpoſed in favour of the people of Hungary as they are at preſent, ſomething might have been done on that ſide more conſiderable, while Belgrade was in the hands of his imperial majeſty, which was very advantageouſly ſituate for carrying on trade with the ſeveral Chriſtian nations that were ſubjects of the Ottoman empire [x]. But, while theſe meaſures were taking at Vienna, the directors of the Oſtend company (without his imperial majeſty's privity) were contriving to keep their commerce ſtill on

[u] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 295. [x] Marſilii, Opus Danubiale, tom. vi.

foot

foot by a variety of methods, which, though they ſometimes promiſed ſucceſs, in the cloſe, however, proved abſolutely fruitleſs and ineffectual.

The directors of the Oſtend company, however, enter into ſchemes for carrying on their commerce.

After their firſt aſtoniſhment, occaſioned by the ſuſpenſion of their commerce, thoſe who were intruſted with the ſecrets of the Oſtend company began to reflect, that ſhips had found their way to and from the Eaſt Indies without any better protection than paſſports, before they had any charter; and they concluded from thence, that it might not prove impoſſible to ſend ſome veſſels thither ſtill by the ſame method, and get them back again with the like ſucceſs, provided paſſports could be obtained from ſome crowned head. Accordingly they formed a project upon this baſis, and, as it is ſaid that money will purchaſe all things, ſo, by the help of that, they found a proprietor and a protector for ſome of their ſhips[y]. The former was Mr. Adam Pruner, a rich merchant of Lintz, in Auſtria, who, on certain neceſſary occaſions, was to paſs for the owner of ſhips and cargoes; the latter was the late king of Poland, from whom the Auſtrian merchants procured a paſſport for the St. Thereſa, and other ſhips, the names of which are not known. In the Indies the company had a very able agent at the head of their affairs, one who had an equal ſhare of intrepidity and induſtry, and who, reſiding in the factory on the Ganges, provided ladings for ſuch ſhips as went thither; and particularly for two, of which the St. Thereſa was one, at the proper ſeaſon in 1730[z]. This voyage, though carried on very ſecretly, could not eſcape the notice of the Engliſh and Dutch, who, towards the cloſe of the month of January, in the ſame year, ſent a ſquadron under the command of captain Gosfright, in the Fordwich, to block up the river. Upon his arrival, he found the two ſhips at anchor, upon which he ordered the Princeſs Caroline to attack them, and the Duke of York, another ſhip under his command, to ſupport him. As ſoon as the Princeſs Caroline was within reach of the leſſer of the two ſhips, ſhe fired a gun, by which one of the men on board her loſt his leg, and another had his arm broke, and the captain was very near being killed, who, perceiving that the Duke of York was preparing to grapple and board her, ſtruck to the Princeſs Caroline, while his conſort ſlipped and took ſhelter under

[y] Recueil Hiſtorique, d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires et Traitez, tom. viii. p. 303. [z] Mercure Hiſtorique et Politique, tom. xci. p. 100.

the

the cannon of the factory, where it was not thought expedient at that time to follow and attack her, and ſhe afterwards had the good fortune to eſcape [a].

In order to which they find means to procure paſſports from the crowns of Poland and Pruſſia.

Upon the bringing the prize to Fort William, ſhe appeared to be the St. Thereſa, commanded by captain Dominick Braco, but ſhe had not taken in above one third of her lading. Not long after the news of this tranſaction arrived in Europe, the directors of the Oſtend company procured an application to be made by his Poliſh majeſty's miniſter for the diſcharge of this ſhip, as having ſailed from Europe under his protection, which, however, did not ſucceed ſo well as they expected. This was, in all probability, the reaſon that they had recourſe to another court, which was that of Pruſſia, and obtained from thence a protection for the Apollo, commanded by captain Michael Caiefas, of the burthen of four hundred ton, which paſſport was dated at Berlin, on the firſt of May, 1729; but, as the blanks for the name and burthen of the ſhip appeared, upon inſpection, to be filled up long after it was granted, there was great reaſon to believe that the court of Pruſſia was not acquainted with the uſe that was intended to be made of it; and, that this ſurreptitious paſs was conveyed to the commander of that veſſel, when he was homeward bound, by ſome of the advice-boats belonging to the Oſtend company; but, however it was, this matter was managed with ſuch dexterity and diligence, that the ſecret was never abſolutely diſcovered; but captain Caiefas, having got this paſſport into his hands, availed himſelf of it, as the reader will ſee, and thereby preſerved both ſhip and cargo, though not without running through ſome difficulties and dangers [b].

Attempt to make the city of Hamburgh their ſtaple, and actually order their ſhips thither.

Upon his returning into the ſeas of Europe, he hoiſted Pruſſian colours, and, being obliged to put into a port in Ireland for ſhelter, received ſuch ſuccours as he wanted, and then continued his voyage for the Elbe. In proceeding up that river he came to an anchor under the fortreſs of Stade, belonging to his Britannick Majeſty, as Elector of Hanover, where he paid the port-duties, was received and treated as a Pruſſian ſhip, and, when he had diſpatched whatever affairs he had there, ſailed for Hamburgh, in which port he arrived the 12th of September, 1731 [c].

[a] Extract from a private letter, dated at Fort-William in the Bay of Bengal, February 26th, 1729-30. [b] Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires et Traitez, tom. viii. p. 303, 304. [c] Mercure Hiſtorique et Politique, tom. xci. p. 342.

The

The directors of the Oſtend company, being informed of the ſafe arrival of the Apollo, were tranſported with joy. In order to revive the drooping ſpirits of their proprietors, they very imprudently gave out, that, notwithſtanding they were deprived of the liberty of ſupplying their magazines in the Netherlands, they would notwithſtanding furniſh all Germany and the North with Eaſt India commodities, and for this purpoſe were determined to eſtabliſh their ſtaple at Hamburgh; and, in ſupport of theſe declarations, they publiſhed advertiſements in all the gazettes, of the time when their public ſale was to commence in that city [d]. They grounded their hopes of being able to go through this affair with the ſame ſucceſs which had hitherto attended it, upon the great privileges granted by the empire for encouraging the navigation of the Elbe, and upon the authority of the free city of Hamburgh, not doubting that the magiſtrates, for the ſake of the advantage their citizens would reap from theſe ſales, and the great reſort of merchants thither on that account, would give them all the aſſiſtance in their power; in which hopes, as the event ſhewed, they were not much miſtaken, and, all circumſtances conſidered, this was certainly as ſhrewd a contrivance as they could poſſibly have deviſed in the then deſperate ſtate of their affairs, and ſhews that theſe managers were men of very great abilities, and would have ſuſtained this traffic if it had been poſſible.

Application thereupon, by the miniſters of the maritime powers, to the regency of that city.

But the maritime powers foreſeeing that the laſt miſchief would be worſe than the firſt, if a ſpeedy and effectual remedy was not applied, agreed upon a joint application to the magiſtrates and ſenate of Hamburgh, and accordingly Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Mauritius, the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters, preſented a memorial conceived in very ſtrong terms, in which they ſet forth, that an interloper, employed in a clandeſtine and illicit trade, in direct breach of treaties, had taken ſhelter in their port, and pretended to expect protection and impunity. That this veſſel, called the Apollo, was returned with a cargo from the Eaſt Indies, to which they had no right to reſort; they therefore inſiſted that the veſſel ſhould be ſequeſtered, and her contents ſecured, ſo that no clandeſtine ſale might be made, before the maritime powers had an opportunity of diſcuſſing this matter with ſuch potentates, as might unexpectedly interfere; adding, that they relied

[d] See the Memorial of Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Mauritius, in which thoſe facts are affirmed.

upon

upon their compliance, the rather as it would give them an opportunity of doing juſtice to the magiſtrate and ſenate, to their high conſtituents, whoſe favour it behoved them to conſider, rather than expoſe the commerce of their great and opulent city to imminent dangers in the cauſe of they knew not who. This memorial was dated the 10th of December, and the magiſtrates eaſily comprehending the importance of this affair, engaged the ſenate to communicate it immediately to the great aſſembly of their citizens, who, by the conſtitutions of Hamburgh, are the judges of ſuch matter in the laſt reſort; and, having received their ſentiments, the reſult of them was ſignified on the 12th of the ſame month, to the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters to the following effect [x].

Anſwer made to this memorial, on behalf of the imperial city of Hamburgh.

That the ſenate had been indeed informed, that the ſhip called the Apollo came from China, and was expected from thence ſome time before her arrival; but that this veſſel had put into a port in Ireland, had paſſed freely through the Britiſh channel, had declared whence ſhe was bound, and her cargo, and had paid duty at the cuſtom-houſe of Staden belonging to the king of Great Britain, as duke of Bremen and Verden, and had been now three months in her port, where ſhe had delivered moſt of her cargo without interruption or complaint: that in this caſe they apprehended themſelves not able to comply with what was deſired, but that they hoped their reaſons would be fairly repreſented: that, in the memorial demanding the arreſt and ſequeſtration of the ſhip and cargo, two points ſeem to be laid down; the firſt, that this veſſel was not under any protection; the ſecond, that, coming from the Indies, ſhe had no right to anchor in their road: with reſpect to the firſt, the veſſel had indubitably a Pruſſian paſſport, which had been examined and reſpected at Stade, and her having been three months in their harbour in that quality, and this fact being publiſhed in the gazettes, without any complaint from the court of Pruſſia, they could have no reaſon to queſtion the fact: that the ſenate knew very well it did not belong to her to decide the rights and pretenſions in queſtion between great powers; and, that as theſe miniſters ſuggeſted in their memorial, that this point was to be cleared between their high conſtituents and ſome other potentates, that conſideration ought, in juſtice and equity, to excuſe them from interpoſing precipitately, and

[x] Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, tom. viii. p. 307.

thereby involving themſelves in the diſpute, not only with his Pruſſian majeſty, but with thoſe other potentates whoever they were: that, as to the ſecond point, the Elbe was a common and free river to the whole Germanic empire, appertaining to his Imperial majeſty as chief of the empire, and to the electors and princes, more eſpecially to thoſe that have territories lying thereon; that therefore it is not in the power of the city of Hamburgh to violate the liberties and privileges of a river which belongs to the emperor and the empire, ſince that would be a manifeſt departure from her fidelity and duty; and that, beſides, it is utterly conſiſtent with her intereſt and conſtitution, her inhabitants ſubſiſting entirely by her free commerce, having a right to admit any ſhips whatever into her harbour, not known to be enemies to the empire, or pirates, ſo that ſhe could not avoid receiving a veſſel, having his Pruſſian majeſty's paſſport, and carrying Pruſſian colours; more eſpecially, after ſhe had been reſpected and treated as ſuch at his Britannic majeſty's fortreſs and cuſtom-houſe at Stade: that, as to the remaining part of the memorial, the ſenate, after the duties were once paid, never interfered farther with the cargoes of any ſhips, but left the proprietors of them to diſpoſe of them as they thought proper, according to the uſage of all free-trading cities; ſo that, except the general declaration at the cuſtom-houſe, they had no knowlege whatever of the contents of this veſſel, ſo that it was abſolutely impracticable, at the diſtance of three months, to do what was required, more eſpecially as it was impoſſible for them to learn to whom the remains of theſe goods belonged, or how the property might be changed by their being ſold, pledged, or bartered, not to mention their being bound by their oath, agreeable to the fundamental laws and conſtitutions of the city, not to ſearch houſes, warehouſes, cellars, and other places, appertaining to the citizens and inhabitants, unleſs for ſome capital crime; which, if they ſhould attempt, it would be fatal to what little commerce and trade they had ſtill left, and would be at the ſame time fruitleſs, and to no purpoſe: that therefore the honourable ſenate beſought the envoy extraordinary Wyche, and the reſident Mauritius, to repreſent favourably to his Britannic majeſty and to the States General, the impoſſibility of the ſenate and city's complying with the demands contained in their memorial; and that, on the other hand, the ſenate was ready and willing to do to the utmoſt of her ſmall power, whatever

may

may contribute to promote and render flouriſhing the Britiſh and Dutch commerce in their city.

The magiſtrates and ſenate of Hamburgh, the very ſame day that they returned this anſwer to the maritime powers, wrote a letter to the emperor, conceived in very ſtrong, but at the ſame time in very reſpectful terms, ſetting forth the difficulties they were under, the apprehenſions they had of incurring the diſpleaſure of two great powers, and their inability to avoid this, without breach of their fidelity to the empire, violating the conſtitution of the liberties of their city, and ſacrificing thoſe privileges and immunities by which not only its commerce was preſerved, but upon which alſo its very ſubſiſtence depended; and therefore claiming his imperial majeſty's interpoſition and protection, in a caſe of ſuch high importance, and as their ſole reſource in that peril and perplexity in which they were [y]: but, before they could receive any anſwer to this letter, the miniſters of the maritime powers preſented another memorial on the 14th of the ſame month, conceived in ſtill ſtronger terms; requiring, that they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the cargo of the Apollo entire, and that they ſhould forbid, or at leaſt ſuſpend the public ſale advertiſed for the Wedneſday following, at the houſe of one Govers, inaſmuch as they were well informed, that thoſe goods were not his property, but belonged to foreigners, and particularly to Dutchmen, for whom he was only factor; that it was not the intention of his Britannic majeſty, or their High Mightineſſes, to offer the leaſt wrong or prejudice to the city of Hamburgh, or inhabitants, unleſs they drew it upon themſelves, but was principally deſigned to hinder their own ſubjects from carrying on an illicit trade, under colour of ſome foreign protection; and that therefore the magiſtrates would eaſily comprehend, that in caſe they tolerated this ſale, after this notice, it would become a very ſerious affair, ſince they did not protect therein their own ſubjects, but thoſe of other nations, in the breach of the laws of their reſpective countries [z].

But, at the ſame time, the regency very wiſely demand his Imperial Majeſty's protection.

To this memorial, thoſe to whom it was addreſſed made a ſpeedy and copious reply, ſtill inſiſting on the grand privilege of the river Elbe, the great impropriety of

And taking advantage of the critical conjuncture of affairs, proceed to a ſale.

[y] Lettre du Magiſtrat de Hambourg, à l'Empereur, du 12 Decembre. 1731. [z] Memoire Hiſtorique et politique, tom. xci. p. 553. Recueil hiſtorique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, tom. viii. p. 319, 320, 321.

their taking upon them to be judges in diſputes between the principal powers in Europe, and the hazard they ſhould run of diſobliging the king of Pruſſia, and of being thought to diſhonour the whole empire, if they pretended to do what was demanded. They likewiſe wrote again to the emperor on the 19th of the ſame month, in terms more pathetic than before, beſeeching him to take ſome meaſures for ſecuring their ſinking commerce, and to engage the maritime powers not to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the free navigation of the Elbe, which till now had never been diſputed: but, notwithſtanding all theſe memorials, the maritime powers found themſelves in no ſituation to puſh this matter to extremity; for, ſoon after, certain perſons interpoſed, of too high rank to be diſobliged; ſo that, notwithſtanding the goods were ſold, they cheſe rather to let the thing be ſpun to a great length, and at laſt be entirely dropped, than to proceed to extremities, as not knowing how far his Imperial majeſty might find himſelf obliged to ſupport the free navigation of the Elbe, or whether the king of Pruſſia might not at length interfere, from a point of honour, in ſupport of his flag, with whom, at that juncture, it was by no means convenient to have any difference. In this inſtance, therefore, the Oſtend company ſeemed to prevail; and the directors flattered themſelves from thence, that they had fallen upon a method of carrying on their trade, notwithſtanding what was ſtipulated in treaties; but it was not long before they found that his imperial majeſty was determined to make his peace with the maritime powers, at their expence [a].

The lading of another Oſtend ſhip ſent to Hamburgh, under pretence of being Spaniſh property.

Upon receiving advice at Oſtend of the time when another ſhip of their's, called the Syren, was to return to Europe, they took care to ſend an advice-boat, with orders to the commander to put into the port of Cadiz; where, on his arrival, he found a French ſhip, called the Maria Armand, on board which all the cargo was transferred, and the French captain took a bill of lading, importing, that the goods were the ſole property of a Spaniſh merchant, and then ſailed for Hamburgh, where they had their agents to ſell them privately [b]. The maritime powers, however, had intelligence of the whole tranſaction, and to avoid the inconveniences they had met with in the former affair, applied themſelves directly to

[a] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xcii. p. 336. [b] Recueil hiſtorique d'Actes, Negociations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. Rouſſet, tom. viii. p. 86.

his

his imperial majeſty; repreſenting, that theſe articles were direct violations of the treaties which his imperial majeſty had concluded. The emperor, having conſidered this repreſentation maturely, ſent his reſcript to his miniſter at Hamburgh, dated October 1, 1732, at Lintz in Auſtria, by which he ſignified to the magiſtrates and ſenate, that being informed that the late company at Oſtend, notwithſtanding the ſignification of his pleaſure, had cauſed a ſhip freighted with commodities from the Indies to be ſent thither, in order to be expoſed to ſale in that city, his Imperial majeſty being reſolved not to permit either the late company, or any of the ſubjects of his hereditary countries, to carry on an illicit trade, contrary to treaties, deſired that they would not only prevent any ſuch ſale, but alſo that they would cauſe the goods to be ſequeſtered [c]. The burgomaſters and council of Hamburgh, inſtead of complying with this reſcript, remonſtrated, that upon enquiry it had been made appear to them, that neither the ſhips nor the goods belonged to the Oſtend company, or to any of the ſubjects of his imperial majeſty, but that the ſhip was French, and the cargo belonged to a Spaniſh merchant, as might appear by the papers ſubjoined. His imperial majeſty, however, was ſo well appriſed of every artifice that had been uſed, that he perſiſted in his demand; and this notwithſtanding the Spaniſh court ſignified to the agent of Hamburgh at Madrid, that the cargo of the Maria Armand was Spaniſh property.

SECT. VII.

The Concluſion of this Affair, and the total Extinction of the Oſtend Company.

His Imperial majeſty interpoſes his authority, in order to put an end to all theſe practices.

AFTER the ſequeſtration was made, this affair was ſpun to a great length, no endeavours being ſpared to get it removed; but when theſe were found altogether ineffectual, ſome overtures were made of another kind; and at laſt, things were brought to this concluſion: the magiſtrates and ſenate of Hamburgh publiſhed a decree, in which they recited, that the Oſtend company being aboliſhed, in conformity to treaties; and that whereas the ſale of the cargo of the Apollo, and the arrival and delivery of the cargo of the Maria Armand, had given great ſuſ-

[c] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xciii. p. 573. 574.

picions and uneaſineſſes to the maritime powers, at whoſe ſolicitation his Imperial majeſty had ſignified his pleaſure to them, that no countenance ſhould be given to ſuch illicit trade; they, therefore, to ſhew the honour and reſpect they had for his imperial majeſty, as well as to remove the before mentioned ſuſpicions, directed their ſubjects, the preſent circumſtances conſidered, not to interfere with, or to have any thing to do, for the future, with ſuch interlopers. Upon the publication of this decree, the ſequeſtration was taken off, and the goods in queſtion were privately withdrawn. Thus ended theſe tedious diſputes, and with them the artificial contrivances of the directors of the Oſtend company, to elude the ſuppreſſion of their commerce with the Indies, which had given ſo much trouble and diſquiet to the maritime powers, and raiſed a ſpirit which, though quelled in the Low Countries, has not, however, ceaſed to appear in other parts of Europe.

Some thoughts have been ſince entertained of ſending ſhips to the Eaſt Indies.

When, in conſequence of a long train of negotiations, the grand-duchy of Tuſcany came into the poſſeſſion of the duke of Lorrain, and that prince eſpouſed the heireſs of the houſe of Auſtria, ſome new ſchemes in favour of commerce, and even of an Eaſt India commerce, came again under conſideration; which, however, were poſtponed upon the death of his imperial majeſty, on account of the war which that event produced, and the complaiſance that it became neceſſary to have for the maritime powers: yet it is reported, that certain privateers, fitted out in the havens of one of the maritime powers, had actually commiſſions to make repriſals in the Indies, for ſome injuries done, or ſaid to be done, to the ſubjects of his late imperial majeſty, when they traded there under the ſanction of the charter granted to the Eaſt India company in the Auſtrian Netherlands. What the conſequences might have been, if thoſe ſhips had reached India, and had made captures amongſt the Mooriſh ſhips, by virtue of this commiſſion, cannot with any certainty be affirmed; but, without doubt, they would not have done either honour or ſervice to the country from whence thoſe ſhips were to have ſailed; and where ſome notice being given of their deſign, it was very happily prevented.

If the Oſtend company had been once effectually eſtabliſhed, in all probability the whole Eaſt India trade, in leſs than a century, would have been confined to the Auſtrian Netherlands, and, perhaps, the greateſt part of the trade in Europe muſt have followed it. The Auſtrian Low Countries

Countries are in themſelves much finer than the provinces which compoſe the Dutch republic, and much better ſituated for trade. Their ſales of Eaſt India commodities would have brought prodigious ſums of ready money into thoſe provinces; and this circumſtance muſt have revived and reſtored thoſe manufactures, which formerly flouriſhed there more than in any part of Europe, which would have ſecured to them all the commerce of Germany, and, by degrees, that of the North. In ſuch circumſtances, what ſhould have hindered their attempting and acquiring the fiſheries? and, by opening the port of Trieſte and Fiume on the Adriatic, what could have prevented their engroſſing the Italian trade? It may be ſaid, that all theſe are ſuppoſitions; but what then? they are reaſonable ſuppoſitions, and, which is much more, they were ſuch ſuppoſitions as induced the late emperor to eſtabliſh this company, and to ſtruggle ſo hard as he did for the maintenance of it; nay the Dutch, who, beyond a queſtion, were the beſt judges in the world of what might be done, and what could be done, thought all theſe ſuppoſitions both poſſible and practicable, which induced them to act in the manner they did. Take then all this together, and it will appear a very ſtrong argument, that the trade of the Eaſt Indies is in itſelf the foundation of commerce and maritime power, at leaſt in the hands of ſuch as know how to manage it; and thoſe who were intruſted with that by the Imperialiſts, ſhewed themſelves very capable, in every reſpect, during the few years they were employed.

Diſſipation of the projectors and principal proprietors into different parts of Europe.

The great, and indeed the only miſtake of the projectors, was their not being ſufficiently verſed in the general ſyſtem of affairs, and the conditions under which his imperial majeſty held the Low Countries. Their miſcarriage taught ſome of them more wiſdom; and being perſuaded, that the experiment they had already made had removed all ſuſpicion that the ſcheme was an impracticable chimera, part of them removed to Copenhagen, in order to graft upon the old Daniſh company; and of their ſucceſs the reader has been already informed. Others again thought of applying to the Swedes, that nation having been for ſome years employed in retrieving their affairs, improving their lands, raiſing new manufactures, reviving their commerce, and reſtoring their naval power. What reception they met with there, and how, by degrees, they brought their deſign to be reliſhed and countenanced by the court, and ſupported by people who had money, whether Swedes or foreigners, will be the buſineſs of the next chapter, in

which we shall present the reader with the history of this new company, which was but the other day the youngest in Europe.

CHAP. XXXVII.

History of the Company established for carrying on a Commerce to the East Indies from Sweden.

SECT. I.

The Swedes, for many Ages, inattentive to Commerce, and to the Arts of Peace; but at length come to form a right Notion of their Importance; and, upon an Application and due Information as to the Benefits of the East India Commerce, a Charter is granted, in the amplest Form, for the Advantage and Encouragement of the Proprietors.

The commerce of Sweden limited, and very inconsiderable for many ages.

THE martial disposition of the Swedes, and the wars almost continual in which they were engaged, either in defence of their freedom at home, or in pursuit of glory abroad, hindered them, for many ages, from making any figure at sea, though few nations were better qualified in all respects. The situation of their country, which has a long extent of coast; with several good ports, and many more that might be made so; the vast abundance of timber, as proper as any in the world for shipping; their great plenty of all other naval stores; the large quantities of excellent iron, which the mines produce; and, above all, the good understandings, calm and determined courage, and cool temper of their minds, joined to the active and robust bodies of their people, gave them vast advantages [d]. With all these, they contented themselves with fishing upon their own coasts, exporting their commodities, chiefly iron and copper, to Dantzick, or to Bremen at farthest; maintaining, however, a tolerable naval force, in which, as often as occasion required, they shewed themselves both brave and skilful seamen. The chief reason of their being

[d] Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 412.

thus

thus confined in their commercial correſpondence, was in part their natural frugality and love of their own country, but chiefly the addreſs of the hanſe towns, the traders of which bought up and exported Swediſh commodities into foreign countries, where, for a long time, they were not known ſo much as to come from Sweden [e]; till at length the Engliſh and the Dutch ſent ſhips to Stockholm, and in proceſs of time their wars in Germany, and the ſettling amongſt them many thouſands of Scots brought them to have more extended notions of trade, and to take ſuch meaſures as had a tendency to increaſe and render it more beneficial, in which they were ſucceſsful in ſome degree, but not in any proportion to what they might have been, if their affairs had been in that reſpect rightly conducted. Yet, as their native commodities were valuable and neceſſary to other nations, and themſelves in thoſe days very frugal, what trade they had turned to account [f].

Guſtavus Adolphus and queen Chriſtina, firſt thought of extending it.

Guſtavus Adolphus, one of the greateſt princes that ever reigned in Sweden, or perhaps in any other country, had very early views in favour of the commerce of his ſubjects; and even while he was engaged in the war with Poland, formed the firſt deſign of opening a paſſage for them to the Eaſt Indies, to which he invited ſuch as were deſirous of reaping a ſhare in the profits of this advantageous commerce by his letters patent, dated at Stockholm, June the 14th, 1626 [g]; but the wars in Germany which followed ſoon after, and engroſſed his attention during the remaining part of his reign, hindered in all probability that deſign from taking any effect. His daughter, the celebrated queen Chriſtina, was alſo very deſirous of promoting the glory and welfare of Sweden in this reſpect; that is, in regard to its trade, and with this view projected a ſettlement upon the coaſt of Guinea, and the eſtabliſhing colonies in the Weſt Indies, and in ſome degree ſucceeded in both; but the Dutch, always attentive to their own intereſts, taking advantage of the circumſtances of the times, ſoon worked the Swedes out of theſe eſtabliſhments, and converted them to their own uſe. There are, however, ſtill ſome remains of the latter in the Engliſh province of New Jerſey, in North America, recovered from the Dutch, where the deſcendants are yet remaining of the inhabitants of three Swediſh towns, in which conſiſted their

[e] Biſhop Robinſon's Account of Sweden, chap. xiv. [f] Reflexions ſur le Commerce de Suede. [g] Dictionarie de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1145.

plantation

plantation in those parts [h]. These discouragements, together with the succeeding wars against the Danes and Poles, took from them all thoughts of renewing their endeavours to benefit themselves, in this way; foreseeing that wherever they attempted to settle, their title might be questioned, and their plantations overthrown by some other European stronger at sea, and consequently better able to support their claims, whether well or ill founded.

Its declension afterwards and the causes thereof explained.

While the Swedes remained closely attached to France, in consequence of the subsidies their monarchs received from that crown, and the pensions and other favours conferred on their nobility, their councils were absolutely guided by the views of the court of Versailles; and while they were totally occupied with the desire of glory and the thirst of ambition, they exhausted their dominions both of men and money, in hopes of extending their conquests, instead of labouring to improve their country or enlarge their commerce [i]. Charles the Eleventh, indeed, in the latter part of his reign, had other views, and acted upon a very different plan, which, however advantageous to the crown, was in many respects detrimental to the subject. He it was who formed the plan of making himself, from a very limited king, an absolute monarch in Sweden, in which he succeeded, by gaining the confidence of the common people, administering justice impartially, repressing the insolence of the nobility, and laying open the corruptions that had been practised in the assemblies of the states. Something however he did for the trade of his subjects, and more he would have done if he had lived; for he was a prince who knew that to make a rich king there must be a rich people, and therefore he put many things upon a new foot, encouraged his subjects to manage their own traffick, and did whatever he apprehended might contribute towards rescuing them out of the hands of foreigners, and engaging them to transport their goods and manufactures in their own bottoms [k]. But the minority which followed upon his death, made way for cancelling, or, at least, neglecting these benefits: and his son, Charles the Twelfth, being never out of the field after he was old enough to take it, whatever he did to raise his own character, as a hero, certainly did little towards promoting the welfare of his subjects, since, at the close of his reign, Sweden was so much exhausted, that there was hardly any but old men

[h] British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 228. [i] Bishop Robinson's Account of Sweden, chap. ix. [k] Vie de Charles XI.

and

and boys left in the country, which was impoverished to the last degree. Her trade and naval power were fallen much below what it had ever been; to say nothing of the loss of some of her finest provinces, from whence she drew many of the most valuable commodities that maintained her commerce [l].

Whence the Swedes were led to change their views to aim at cultivating the arts of peace.

But after the peace with Russia was made, and the late king, then landgrave of Hesse, was placed on the throne by election, new measures were pursued, and experience and necessity, which are able mistresses, taught the Swedes that the welfare and honour of a country might be supported, though every man in it was not a soldier. The states being restored to their authority, endeavoured to make all ranks of people comprehend what a real blessing liberty was, and how soon the affairs of a country might be retrieved, even in the most distressed circumstances, when every man in his sphere, exerted himself for the good of the community [m]. The grievances introduced under the late reign were redressed, several abuses, that had crept in under plausible pretences, were removed, and the weight of taxes was as much softened as the circumstances of the government would permit [n]. Besides these, many other remedies were applied; new methods of agriculture were put to the trial for the improvement of the soil; a variety of machines invented to mitigate the labour of such as were employed in the mines; new manufactures erected; encouragement given to strangers; and, in short, every possible method was practised that might give a new face to affairs. These endeavours had quickly good effects; and, amongst others, they produced an active spirit of industry, sharpened by emulation; and every man who had an opportunity, striving to distinguish himself as far as he was able, both in acting and thinking for the public benefit, as it stood connected with the method in which he pursued his own private advantage; and this was the situation Sweden was in at the time of the suspension of the Ostend company, by which a number of busy and able men were thrown out of employment, and left under a variety of discouragements to seek it where they could [o].

At what time, and from what motives, their East India company was erected.

Encouraged by this and other coinciding circumstances, one Mr. Henry Koning, an eminent merchant at Stockholm, formed the scheme of establishing an East India

[l] Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 195. [m] Etat de Suede, p. 39. [n] Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 271. [o] Reflexions sur le Commerce de Suede.

company

company in Sweden. He represented to the king and his ministers, that there were various parts of Asia and Africa to which an advantageous commerce might be carried on, without infringing treaties, or breaking in upon the trade of other nations; that this was what Sweden had a right to at all times, but that there never was a juncture in which she might avail herself of that right with so much facility as at present; that it was impossible to undertake an enterprize of this nature without the assistance of foreigners, as well in contributing to the expence with which it would be necessarily attended, as in entering into a service that the Swedes were as yet unacquainted with; that many who had in time withdrawn their money out of the Ostend company were desirous of employing it elsewhere, more especially if it could be done with secrecy; and that there might be easily found persons every way capable of conducting such a design in its infancy, if the season was not let slip. These arguments had their weight, more especially, when, upon due examination, Mr. Koning made it appear to the college of commerce, or, to use our own phrase, the board of trade, that he had advanced nothing which it was not wholly in his power to make good. Upon mature deliberation, therefore, his proposal was accepted, and his Swedish majesty, by and with the advice of the senate, granted him a charter for his new company, dated June the 14th, 1731 [p], precisely one hundred and five years after the letters patent of Gustavus Adolphus for the like purpose.

The substance of the royal charter to that East India company.

The king thereby concedes to Henry Koning, and his associates, the liberty of navigating and trading to the East Indies for fifteen years, with the inhabitants of all countries from beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the islands of Japan, wherever they shall think proper or convenient; with this single restriction, that they shall not trade in any port belonging to any prince or state in Europe without free leave first had and obtained. The ships employed in this commerce shall constantly take in their lading at Gottenburg, to which port they shall return with all the merchandize they bring from the East Indies, and cause the same to be publicly sold as soon as conveniently they can. The said Henry Koning and company shall pay to the crown of Sweden during the said fifteen years, one hun-

[p] Supplement au Corps Diplomatique des Droits des Gens, tom. ii. partie ii. p. 305. Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 257. Rousset, Recueil Historique d'Actes, &c. tom. viii. p. 343.

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dred dalers per laſt for every ſhip they employ, ſuch ſhips being meaſured before their departure from Gottenburgh; which money is to be paid within ſix days after the ſafe return of the ſaid ſhip from the Indies; and they ſhall likewiſe pay two dalers per laſt, in full ſatisfaction for the town duties. The ſaid Henry Koning and company may employ, equip, and arm, as many veſſels as they ſhall think proper, provided thoſe veſſels are built or bought in Sweden, and whatever elſe is neceſſary for equipping and furniſhing them be had in the Swediſh dominions. But in caſe this ſhould be found at any time impracticable, then the company may provide themſelves with ſhips, or whatever elſe ſhall be found requiſite for their commerce, wherever they ſhall think fit; provided always that they give the preference to, and promote as far as in them lies, the building, manufactures, and produce of Sweden. The ſaid ſhips ſhall carry the Swediſh flag, and ſhall be furniſhed with paſſports under the king's hand, as alſo from the republic of Algiers. The ſaid company ſhall be at liberty to raiſe what ſum they think fit for carrying on their commerce, by voluntary ſubſcription, or otherwiſe, as they ſhall think proper; and ſuch as ſhall become ſubſcribers, ſhall be obliged to pay in their money at the times preſcribed, on pain of forfeiting their intereſt in the ſaid commerce.

The company may tranſport what ordnance or ſmall arms they think proper, as alſo ſilver coined, or uncoined, Swediſh money only excepted, and may likewiſe bring from the Indies what kind of goods or manufactures they think fit, without any reſtriction; the veſſels of the company, when freighted and ready to ſail, ſhall not be ſtopped or hindered on any pretence whatever; nor ſhall they at their return be impeded from entering into the port to which they are conſigned. The goods of the ſaid company may be tranſported at their pleaſure from place to place within his Swediſh majeſty's dominions, being firſt furniſhed with proper paſſports, without paying any other duties than thoſe before ſtipulated. The captains or the company's ſhips ſhall have the like powers for maintaining diſcipline amongſt their crews as the captains of the king's ſhips; and, with reſpect to trade, they ſhall conform to the inſtructions given by Henry Koning and company, provided always thoſe inſtructions are not repugnant to the privileges granted by this charter. The ſeamen and ſoldiers entered on board the company's ſhips ſhall not be liable to be preſſed into the king's or any other ſervice; and, on the other hand, it ſhall not be lawful for the company to take into

their

their ſervice any who ſhall have deſerted that of the crown. The ſeamen and ſoldiers belonging to the ſhips in the company's ſervice, and deſerting from it, may be apprehended and detained, but according to the uſual forms of law, and by the hands of the proper officers. The ſhips belonging to the company being returned, and entered, having the merchandize on board them, the goods ſhall be duty-free, except only a very ſmall acknowlegement to be paid on removing them.

The perſons acting under this character ſhall conſtantly chuſe out of their own number at leaſt three directors, who ſhall be all men of diſtinguiſhed probity and known abilities, of which Henry Koning ſhall be one; and in caſe of his demiſe, the members of the company are directed and impowered to make choice of another perſon in his ſtead, provided always that theſe three directors be natives of the kingdom of Sweden, or, at leaſt, naturalized Swedes, Proteſtants, and reſident in the king's dominions, unleſs neceſſarily abſent in foreign parts for the ſervice of the company, in which caſe the proprietors may ſubſtitute another director at home. The ſaid Henry Koning, and his aſſociates, may make ſuch regulations for the management of their commerce as they ſhall think proper, provided they be agreeable to this charter. They ſhall render a faithful account to all the perſons intereſted, as well of the profits and loſſes as of the capital of the ſaid company; but they ſhall not be obliged to diſcover the names of their ſubſcribers, or the ſums they ſubſcribed; nor ſhall they be obliged to produce or ſuffer their books to be inſpected on any pretence whatſoever. In caſe any of the directors ſhall find that the reſt betray their ſecrets, or are guilty of any other fraud or miſdemeanor, they may apply to the board of trade for juſtice and reparation, and, upon due proof, ſuch offender ſhall be ſuſpended or degraded from his office of director, and the company ſhall be at liberty to chuſe another in his room.

In like manner, if any of the proprietors ſhall find that Henry Koning, and the reſt of the directors betray their truſt, or are guilty of any frauds, they may make the ſame application, and obtain the ſame redreſs. The ſaid Henry Koning and company, may employ what number of ſupercargoes, officers, mariners, or ſoldiers, they ſhall think fit, either Swedes or foreigners, who, on their being ſo employed, ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges as if they were born Swedes, and the money employed, either by natives or foreigners, in the capital of the company, ſhall not be liable to any ſtoppage or ſeizure. Such perſons as

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are interested in, or employed by the company, shall be naturalized according to their respective qualities, upon their applying themselves to the king for that purpose. The said Henry Koning and company, and such as are authorized or employed by them, in case they are molested or disturbed in their commerce by any person, or in any part of the world whatever, shall have full power from his majesty to obtain ample justice and satisfaction by all convenient methods, and shall be at liberty to oppose force by force, and to consider such disturbers as pirates and enemies to the public peace. His majesty will grant them these powers, especially in such commissions as their captains shall receive; and in case notwithstanding they should be attacked, and suffer any injury or injustice from any nation whatever in the carrying on of this commerce, his majesty, upon due information thereof, will grant them his high protection, and will endeavour to procure for them speedy and ample satisfaction, either by way of reprisal, or otherwise. The rest of the subjects of the crown of Sweden are expressly prohibited and forbid to engage in, or interfere with the trade of the said company, under pain of his majesty's high displeasure, and the confiscation of their vessels and effects. The king promises to alter or augment these privileges upon application from the company, as often and in such a manner as shall be found necessary for promoting the trade to the East Indies, and the interest of the persons concerned therein.

Why this instrument is esteemed one of the best.

The reader will perceive that the powers contained in this charter, are such as concern commerce abroad, and are not calculated to give the company, or its directors, too much power at home, because it subjects them to the college of commerce; which consists of the president of the treasury and four counsellors, who hear and determine whatever comes before them in a summary way, according to the laws of the kingdom and the general maxims of equity[q]. There were great expectations formed of this company for various reasons: because they had all the powers granted them that they could reasonably expect or desire; because they were not limited in their capital, but allowed to raise such sums, and in such manner, as they shall esteem most for their benefit;

[q] Octroy accrodé par le Roy de Suede, pour l'Erection d'une Compagnie des Indes, dans ses Etats, art. xv. Corps Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. ii. partie ii. p. 305.

because

becauſe they were prohibited from interfering with the commerce of other nations, and thereby running themſelves and their country into difficulties; becauſe they had the king's protection ſecured to them in ſuch a manner, and for ſuch purpoſes, as might ſerve to anſwer all good ends, without involving the crown of Sweden in any controverſies with the maritime powers, or any other of her allies; and, laſtly, becauſe, from the nature of the conſtitution in Sweden, there ſeemed to be as high ſecurity for the properties of ſuch as intereſted themſelves in this affair as in any other country whatever. It is not, therefore, difficult to conceive, that the capital was quickly ſubſcribed, and ſuch a proportion of it raiſed, as enabled the directors to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for diſpatching two ſhips to the Indies.

SECT. II.

Conduct of the Swediſh Monarch, and of the Nation, in ſupporting this Eſtabliſhment.

His Swediſh majeſty gives notice of this charter to the States General.

AS ſoon as this charter was granted, his Swediſh majeſty directed his miniſter at the Hague to preſent a memorial to their High Mightineſſes the States General, ſignifying that his majeſty had thought fit to erect ſuch a company in his dominions, and that, at the ſame time, they were reſtrained expreſsly by their charter from interfering with, or diſturbing the trade of any Chriſtian nation whatever in thoſe parts; and that he choſe to inform their High Mightineſſes thereof, that ſuch as were employed in the Swediſh company's ſervice, might not be treated by any of their ſubjects in the Indies as people belonging to they knew not who, but as acting under the authority of a prince in alliance and friendſhip with their republic, a free and independent king, who had an unqueſtionable right to make uſe of his power for the benefit of thoſe he governed. This memorial was accordingly preſented July 18, 1731, but no anſwer being returned to it by the States, the Swediſh miniſter, by direction from his court, preſented another memorial on the 31ſt of October following; in which he ſet forth, that the king, by eſtabliſhing this company, intended to conſult the welfare of his own ſubjects, without prejudice to thoſe of any other prince or ſtate whatever; and that he was particularly careful to avoid giving any juſt cauſe of offence to their

their High Mightineſſes; that, as in the courſe of ſo long a voyage, the veſſels in the ſervice of the Swediſh company might be obliged by diſtreſs of weather, or other accidents, to take ſhelter in the ports or roads of ſome of the Dutch ſettlements in the East Indies, in which caſe he hoped they would receive the ſame teſtimonies of kindneſs and humanity as they were accuſtomed to ſhew to other European nations, ſuch as the French, Engliſh, and Danes; that his majeſty had expreſsly directed, that the maſters of thoſe ſhips, in ſuch caſes, ſhould pay in ready money for whatever ſuccours they received, and ſhould not preſume to enter into any kind of commerce; and ſhould, upon theſe and all other occaſions, whether in the open ſea, or in any port or road, behave in every reſpect to the ſhips and ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes as became them towards the good friends and allies of the king their maſter; and that his majeſty perſuaded himſelf, that their High Mightineſſes, from the ſame principles of equity and friendſhip, would direct their ſubjects in the Indies to treat the Swedes upon the ſame foot; and that his majeſty had farther commanded him to aſſure them, that as he had nothing more at heart than to cultivate the good correſpondence, and to augment the harmony ſubſiſting between him and their High Mightineſſes, ſo nothing could be more agreeable to him than an opportunity of ſhewing their High Mightineſſes, or their ſubjects, marks of his ſincere affection and good will; and that, the premiſes conſidered, he hoped to receive their favourable reſolution thereupon.

Their anſwer to the memorials preſented on this occaſion.

The States General, finding it abſolutely neceſſary, as well in regard to their intereſt as with reſpect to decency, to give an anſwer to theſe memorials, couched it in the following terms[t]. The king of Sweden will always find their High Mightineſſes diſpoſed to the moſt ſtrict friendſhip with him; but as his majeſty cannot be ignorant that the company eſtabliſhed in his dominions for carrying on the commerce to the East Indies, muſt be prejudicial to the intereſts of that long ſince eſtabliſhed under their protection, he cannot expect that they ſhould favour this new company, though they are at all times willing to afford ſuccours to his Swediſh majeſty's ſubjects. This dry anſwer was, in all probability, ſuch as the court of Sweden ex-

[t] Mercure Hiſtorique et Politique, tom. xci. p. 80. Rouſſet Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negociations, &c. tom. vii. p. 359.

pected; but however, as nothing contained in it derogated in the least from his majesty's authority, or from his right of employing this, or any other method that he thought proper, for the benefit of his subjects, it did not in the least retard the preparations made for sending two ships directly for China; on the contrary, it raised the spirits of those concerned, who, expecting no assistance, were satisfied if they met with no opposition.

Two ships built for this trade by the Sweaish East India company.

In compliance, therefore, with their charter, the directors of the Swedish East India company caused two new ships to be built, one of which was called the Frederic King of Sweden; and the other, in honour of the queen, the Ulrica, very strong and complete, of proper force, and every way fit for the expedition in which they were to be employed [u]. They proceeded with the like caution and diligence in the choice of the persons who were to be employed in all stations, as also in their seamen, and very fortunate they were in both respects; so that, by the time these vessels sailed from the harbour of Gottenburgh, the sentiments of those who attended to things of this nature were very much changed, and notwithstanding the length of the voyage, the want of settlements where they might touch for refreshment, and other visible disadvantages under which this new company laboured, and which were thought scarce surmountable, it was generally believed they would make the voyage with success, more especially as there was not now the least apprehension of their meeting with any hindrance or ill usage from other nations.

One of them seized in their return from China.

About the time when one or both of these ships were expected to return into the ports of Sweden, Mr. Henry Koning received a letter, brought by some of the European shipping, from Mr. Colin Campbell, who was vested with a public character from his Swedish majesty to the emperor of China, and other sovereign princes of the East, and had also from the company the charge of supercargo on board the Frederic King of Sweden; by which letter he acquainted him, that when, in their return from China, they were about to enter the streights of Sonda, they saw seven ships lying at anchor, which, as soon as they descried the Frederic, weighed and put to sea: the Frederick endeavoured to get the wind, and to get through the streights, but was unluckily prevented by the setting of the current, which obliged them to come to an anchor.

[u] Mercure Historique & Politique, tom. xci. p. 691, 692.

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Upon this Mr. Bremer was ſent on board the commodore, (for the ſeven ſhips now came down upon them with Dutch colours diſplayed), and carried with him copies of their paſſports. The commodore detained Bremer, the ſhallop, and all that were in it, and continued to bear down upon the Frederick; and, upon their coming near, the commodore fired a gun to oblige them to ſtrike. Next day, in the morning, he ſent on board for the captain, and ordered him to bring his paſſports and commiſſion, which order he was obliged to obey; then the Dutch called a council, in which a reſolution was taken to oblige a part of the Swediſh crew to quit their ſhip, a proper number of Dutch ſeamen being ſent in their room; and in the afternoon they took out the reſt of the crew, leaving only the captain, Mr. Campbell, and twelve perſons. The laſt mentioned gentleman, upon this, drew up a proteſt, which he ſent incloſed in a letter to the commodore, inſiſting upon the affront offered to his Swediſh majeſty's flag, the breach of the law of nations in his own perſon, he being veſted with a public character, and the violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the republic and the crown of Sweden. As this proteſt was written in the Swediſh language, the commodore alleged that he could not underſtand it; but the ſupercargoes, who were preſent, explained it to him; upon which he, and the reſt of the officers ſaid, that no part of theſe proceedings ought to be imputed to them; they having orders to do all that they had done from their ſuperiors; which orders they ſhould have been obliged to obey, if the king of Sweden had been there in perſon. That their orders were to carry the veſſel to Batavia, where they did not doubt the affair would be thoroughly examined, and the ſhip ſuffered to proceed in her voyage in a few days.

The Swediſh miniſter complains of this uſage.

Upon the communication of this letter to the court, his Swediſh majeſty ſent orders to his miniſter at the Hague to preſent a memorial to the States General, with the copy of the letter annexed; which he accordingly did, Auguſt the 11th, 1733[w]. In this memorial he expreſſed the ſurprize his Majeſty was in at the unjuſt and violent proceedings in the Indies, ſo contrary to the friendſhip and good intelligence which their High Mightineſſes had aſſured the king they would always maintain towards his majeſty and his ſubjects; that this was increaſed from the

[w] Rouſſet, Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, Negociations, &c. tom. viii. p 360.

consequence of the memorials formerly presented; in answer to which, they did not pretend to dispute his majesty's right, though they declared they could not favour that company; that therefore his majesty could not apprehend that they had any doubt of this being a Swedish company, and properly authorized, though possibly in this, as in their own and all other companies, foreigners might have some concern; that there was not the smallest pretence of his subjects having exceeded their powers, or done any thing contrary to treaties; that therefore this proceeding, so disobliging, and which was in effect treating him and his subjects as enemies, could not but be very offensive to his Swedish majesty, more especially, considering the little respect shewn to a person vested with the character of his minister plenipotentiary, and whose person ought therefore to have been esteemed sacred by the law of nations. That, notwithstanding the harshness of this action, his majesty had still so high an idea of their High Mightinesses, as not barely to believe they gave no orders for the excesses committed on his majesty's ship the King of Sweden; but was also persuaded that their High Mightinesses, in case it was not already done, would order without the least delay the said Swedish ship, her cargo, and equipage, to be released; and also give a just, full, and proportionate satisfaction for the indignity offered to the king and kingdom, by the insult done to his minister plenipotentiary, as well as repair whatever loss the Swedish East India company had received; and that his majesty farther commanded him to represent and require, that their High Mightinesses would instantly send their orders that the other Swedish ship, called the Ulrica Eleanora, may return from the East Indies freely, without impediment or injury from the subjects of the republic, his majesty being firmly resolved to protect and maintain his subjects in the enjoyment of the privileges granted them by his charter for establishing a commerce to the Indies.

In answer to which the East India company and the States deny any such orders.

The States perceiving, by the language of this memorial, that this was like to become a very serious affair, and unwilling to be suspected of having the least knowledge of such a transaction, sent immediately to the board of East India directors to know what it was that had given occasion to the regency at Batavia to act in this manner: the directors replied, that they had sent no order relative to any such transaction as that of which the crown of Sweden complained; and, they farther believed the regency at Batavia was too prudent to take any such step without expres:

expreſs orders; but that, however, their laſt letters were of the 8th of September, 1732; in which there being no mention at all of any ſuch thing, it was impoſſible for them to give their High Mightineſſes any farther lights; but they hoped they would defer the conſideration of this affair till they had advice concerning it from the Indies. The States therefore anſwered the Swediſh envoy, that he might aſſure the king his maſter, that neither they nor the company had ever given any orders of this kind; and that they were ſtill in the ſame ſentiments of friendſhip and cordiality towards his Swediſh majeſty and his ſubjects as they had formerly profeſſed. The ſhip being diſmiſſed from Batavia, returned ſoon after; thenceforward all things of this kind were forborne, and the Swedes ſuffered to carry on their trade to China, without any trouble, oppoſition, or interruption [x].

The Swediſh company continue their commerce to China regularly, and with ſucceſs.

Their firſt voyages, though not attended with ſo much profit as might have been expected, were however tolerably ſucceſsful, and the company eſtabliſhed their factory on the river Canton in China, with the conſent of the Chineſe, who ſeemed to be very well pleaſed with theſe new comers, and every way diſpoſed to favour and promote their trade; ſo that they were very ſoon upon the ſame footing there with other European nations [y]. At home indeed they met with ſome difficulties; for the company being obliged to make uſe of many foreigners in all capacities, for the better carrying on of their trade, and there being no nation in Europe naturally more jealous than the Swedes, this jealouſy occaſioned a great clamour, eſpecially among the common people, which, however, was in ſome meaſure mitigated by publiſhing an order that two thirds at leaſt of the mariners ſhould be, for the future, natives of the kingdom; and, as the execution of this order was apparently attended with difficulties and inconveniences, it convinced even the vulgar of their firſt miſtake, and that the company had done no more than what they were warranted to do by their charter, and what the circumſtances of their affairs, more eſpecially at the beginning, rendered neceſſary. Since that time the Swediſh company have been very regular, both in fitting out their ſhips, and in their returns; which, being ſold to foreigners, have brought in great ſums of money to the kingdom; yet, as a great part of this money has been ex-

x Rouſſet, Recueil Hiſtorique d'Actes, &c. tom. viii. p. 367, 368.
y State of the Trade in the Eaſt Indies, p. 3.

ported again, for the carrying on this trade, a new complaint has been created thereby, in respect to the silver carried to the East Indies. We need the less wonder at this in Sweden, because, though the trade of the kingdom is not large, yet it produces annually a considerable balance in ready money, as is known experimentally here, since two thirds of the trade we carry on thither is managed with ready money only; and it is also pretty much the same thing with other nations who trade thither, the French only excepted, who have a balance in their favour[z] from the Swedes. This has gradually grown less and less, in proportion as they have taken more naval stores of late years than they did formerly; and, as their subsidy treaties bring in considerable sums to Sweden, or, at least, keep the money there that would otherwise be employed in discharging the balance of trade; so that the Swedes being used to see great sums of money brought in by every other branch of commerce, and not so immediately acquainted with the profits arising from this, are less disposed to consider it as advantageous.

Are well received there, and established in the same manner as other European nations.

In consequence of these jealousies, some doubt arose, upon the expiration of the term granted by their charter, whether the company would be continued, or the trade let fall, and various conjectures were thrown out in the foreign gazettes. But penetrating people easily saw that there could be but little foundation for any such notion, since the very application of the company, to have their term prolonged, was a plain indication, that not only they, but the kingdom was the better for it: since, as it was a fact notorious, that the goods sold in their sales were bought by merchants residing in other countries, to which they were actually transported, and but a very small proportion of them consumed in the dominions of Sweden, a considerable part of the produce must be clear gain to the nation; since not only the dividends paid to the proprietors who reside there, remain to the nation, but also the large sums expended in building and equipping ships, the pay of the seamen and officers, and the duties; and, besides all this, the value of the commodities of Sweden, which are sent to China, which have been from the first very considerable, and have been ever since increasing. These circumstances, duly weighed, made it very improbable that there should be any thoughts of abandoning this commerce, and gave no small weight to a

[z] Bishop Robinson's Account of Sweden, chap. xiv.

suspicion,

ſuſpicion, that thoſe reports might not actually come from Sweden, but be rather intended to reach it, and to inſtill into a people, inclinable enough to receive ſudden impreſſions, ſuch doubts and fears as might prejudice them either againſt the company or the commerce [a].

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Hiſtory of the Othmân Empire.

SECT. I.

Origin of the Othmân Turks, and Hiſtory, till their ſettling in Aſia Minor, under the Seljuk Soltâns. Remarks on their Hiſtorians; with the Reigns of Solymân Shâh and Ertogrul.

Origin of the Othmâns.

THE obſervation, that the greateſt empires have ſprung from the moſt inconſiderable people, may be applied with as much juſtice to the Othmân, or Ozmân (A) Turks, as to any other nation whatever. There can be no doubt that they came originally from Turkeſtân, or ſome other part of Tartary; but it is not eaſy to fix the particular province of that vaſt region from whence they iſſued, or to determine the particular tribe from which they derive their deſcent.

Their genealogy ſuſpicious.

Cantemir, the hiſtorian, ſays, the Othmân Turks are deſcended from one of the moſt noble of the Ogûzian families, who derive their pedigree from Ogûz Khân, one of the moſt ancient heroes of the Turkiſh nation; and hence they aſſume the name of Ogûzians; but although the Turks, and Mohammedan Tatars, reckon Ogûz among the anceſtors of the Turks in general, yet

[a] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 459.

(A) Othmân is an Arabic word, of which Ozmân is the Perſian pronunciation, followed by the Turks, who dwelt a long time in Perſia. They are called Ali Othmân, or the Othmân People.

none of them speak of a particular tribe, or branch of the Turkish nation, under the name of Ogûzians.

Name Turk odious. The name of Turk being brought into great contempt in the East, by the Arabs and Persians, who have stigmatized it, as a word implying rudeness and barbarity, their seat of empire is not stiled the Turkish, but the Othmân Port. Yet these Othmâns were, perhaps, the most rude and unpolite of all the three Turkish branches, till they conquered Constantinople.

Real Turks. Without particularizing the reasons commonly given for assuming one name and rejecting another, which are all frivolous and uncertain, we shall only observe, that though the Othmâns, as well as Seljûks, when they grew powerful, assumed those appellations, either being too proud any longer to bear a name which was fallen into contempt, or else to honour the founders of their respective empires: yet they were nevertheless Turks in reality; and, in saying they were Ogûzians, they confirm that opinion the more, since Ogûz was but a few descents from Turk. Nor can we see, why they should be ashamed of the name, since Turk, whom they feign to be a son of Japhet, is acknowleged as the common ancestor of all the tribes, or nations, inhabiting Tartary.

Their original country very uncertain. As to the particular part of Tartary which this supposed Oguzian hord, or tribe, originally inhabited, all the Turkish historians agree, that it dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, and was especially of those Tatars whom they commonly call Konar Kocher Tatar Tayfeli; that is *staying and going*: as much as to say, without fixed habitations. Prince Cantemir is inclined to believe, that these Ogûzians dwelt in the country between that sea and the lake called Karabogâz, at present inhabited by the Karakâlpaks, who lead a wandering life, and speak the Turkish language; although the Turks greatly differ from them in their manners and way of living [b].

Ancestors of Othmân, Although the Turkish historians run up the genealogy of the Othmân Turks as high as Japhet, yet it does not appear that the ancestors of Othmân, who are but darkly set forth in the Turkish authors, can be traced with any certainty beyond the third degree, or that of his great-grand-father. These, according to the tradition in the time of Khalkokondylas, were Ertogrul, Ogûzalp, and Duzalp: according to the Turkish annals, Saadi Effendi, and other eastern writers, their names were Ertogrul,

[b] Cant. Hist. Oth. Emp. pref. p. 12.

Solymân

Soleymân Shâh, and Kiya Aleb, called by ſome Kiay Khân.

Of Kiya Khân, father of Solymân Shâh, or indeed of any of the three anceſtors of Othmân, very little is related by the Turkiſh hiſtorians; and even that little is liable to many objections.

Saadi Effendi, author of the annals ſo approved, as we are told, by the Othmâns, relates, after the beſt ancient writers, that at the ſame time when the family of Seljûk removed from Mawara'lnahr into Iran, with them alſo Kiya Khân, father of Solymân Shâh, prince of the Ogûzians, departed with his tribe from Marû Shâh Jân, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the city of Makhân (B); but that after Jenghîz Khân's irruption, Solymân Shâh, ſon of Kiya, or, as ſome write it, Kiya Aleb Khân, whoſe dominions reached to Ahlad (C), to avoid the fury of the Tatars, was forced to relinquiſh his poſſeſſions, and with his people go in queſt of new habitations towards the country of Rûm or Anatolia. *ſettle in Perſia.*

Heſhri, a much older hiſtorian than Saadi, ſays the Ogûzians poſſeſſed the country of Ahlad one hundred and ſeventy years before Solymân; under whom, in 611, they made their firſt expedition towards the regions of Aſia Minor; but the Tatars having left nothing undeſtroyed, Solymân, with his followers, abandoning Rûm, removed back to Azerbejân, and there, for ſome time, led a country or unſettled life. At laſt, in the year 616, preſſed for want of neceſſaries, he advanced a ſecond time with fifty thouſand men towards Rûm, to recover his former poſſeſſions: but, in attempting to ſwim over the Euphrates on horſe-back, was drowned [c]. Hejra 611. A.D. 1214. *Remove weſtwards.* Hejra 616. A.D. 1219.

The place where this accident happened, according to the Tajo'Hawarikh of Saedo'ddîn, was over-againſt the caſtle Khaybar, or Jâbber, and he was interred in a place called at preſent Mazar dhi Turk. The Tarîkh Othmâni relates that Soltân Aladin, of Seljûkian extraction, flying from Khoraſſân to the country of Yunnân, and ſeizing the city of Sevaſta or Sivâs, aſſumed regal power: at the

[c] Cant. pref. p. 12. & ſeq. D'Herbelot, p. 822, art. Soliman Schah.

(B) Machân, or Mahân, is between Bawerd, or Ibûrd, and Durûn, not far from the river Amû, and about one hundred and ſixty miles from the Caſpian ſea.

(C) Aklât, or Kelât, in the Great Armenia.

ſame

same time, Makhân being destroyed, Solymân Shâh, giving way to the violence of the Tatars, repaired to Erzingân or Arzingân; from thence, penetrating into Romania, came to Amasia. Then, altering his course, marched to Halep, and thence to the city of Jabber on the Euphrates, where he encamped: and, in attempting to swim over the river on horse-back, was drowned, as has been already related [d].

Soleymân Shâh drowned.

This retreat of Solymân is by the historians marked to have happened after Jenghîz Khân had destroyed the city of Bâlkh in Khorassân; and had slain Kurzem Shâh.

Objection first.

This history, as delivered by the Turkish historians, made use of by Cantemir, is liable to several objections. First, what is asserted, that the dominions of Solymân extended from Mahân, in Khorassân, to Ahlâd, in Armenia, is contrary to the truth of history: for all Persia, and great part of Armenia, was, at that time, under the obedience of the Karazm Shâhs; and before them, were in the possession of the Seljûkians of Irân. Nor is it likely, that Ahlâd was at all in the hands of the Ogûzians, much less for one hundred and seventy years before Solymân's retreat, if indeed he ever was possessed of it: for it is hardly possible, that two places, at so vast a distance as Makkân and Ahlâd, should be so long subject to petty princes, whose dominions were almost wholly confined to those two cities, and whose names were scarce known to the historians of those countries. Add to this, that his being forced to relinquish his possessions, with his followers, consisting of fifty thousand men, to seek new habitations in Rûm, does not at all consist with his character of a prince possessed of large dominions; who, in that case, would have been able to have raised more numerous forces, and to have withstood the Mogols, instead of flying from them without fighting a stroke.

If prince Cantemir had examined the Turkish historians critically in this part which relates to the origin of the Othmâns; it is presumed he would have followed them with more caution, and not exaggerated matters, after Saadi Effendi, and the other later writers, who had more the Othmân glory than the truth of history in view. But to return to the history itself.

Ertogrul's conquests.

Solymân left four sons, Sungurteking, Jundogdi, Erdogrul or Ortogrol Gâzi, and Dundar, or Dumdar. The two first, on their father's death, returned into Persia: Erdogrul and Dumdar, with their part of the forces,

[d] Cant. pref. p. 13. Annal. Soltanor. p. 1.

first

firſt pitched their tents in a place called Shîrmaluchuker (D). Dumdar dying in this place, Erdogrul moved towards Aſia Minor, ſubduing ſeveral provinces in his way; and, from his compelling thoſe he defeated to embrace his religion, obtained the name of Zeletis, very famous in thoſe parts. That he might not ſeem tyranically to covet the poſſeſſions of others, he ſent his eldeſt ſon Saru-yati, (afterwards celebrated by the epithet of Savuchi Beg) in an humble manner to Aladin, Soltân of Ikonium; deſiring a habitation ſomewhere in his kingdom for himſelf and his followers. Aladin, thinking it better to make this powerful, though new, neighbour, his friend than his enemy, and above all things wanting a good general to lead his armies, readily granted his requeſt: and, ſending back Saru-yati, with ambaſſadors, to Erdogrul, promiſed, that, in caſe by his valour the remainder of the Tatars ſhould be driven out of his dominions, not only to place him at the head of his armies, but alſo to aſſociate him in his empire. Erdogrul, on this encouragement repairing to Aladin's court, was aſſigned Karajedâghi, in the country of Ancyra, for the place of his abode.

Repairs to Aſia Minor.

About this very time, a numerous body of Tatars happening to invade the region of Ancyra, Aladin, who had been long infeſted by them, led ſuch forces againſt them as could be aſſembled in haſte; but, being inferior to the enemy's, they were put into diſorder on the firſt onſet. Erdogrul, hearing of the battle, came up opportunely with five thouſand men; who, ſeeing the Soltân's forces flying and diſperſed, adviſed him to join the conquerors, and ſeize the ſpoils of the runaways: but he, ſcorning to draw his ſword upon the proſtrate, bravely attacked the Tatars, and put them to flight. The Soltân, mindful of his promiſes, royally rewarded Erdogrul, committed to his government the whole province of Ancyra, and appointed him generaliſſimo of his armies. Erdogrul, afterwards joining his forces to the Soltân's, not only put a ſtop to the incurſions of the Tatars, but compelled them to retire from the borders of the kingdom. He likewiſe ſubdued other countries from the Romans, and annexed them to Aladin's empire. In the year 680, according to the hiſtorian Saadi, he crowned his victories with the

A.D. 1236.

Expels the Mogols.

Hejra 680. A.D. 1281.

(D) Syrmalyzukur, p. 8. of the Oth. Hiſt. probably Chirmalek, in Diyârbekr, between Bîr and Orfa.

con-

conquest of the famous city of Kutahi (E) from the Greeks. At length, being worn out with wars and old age, he died in the same year, according to the same historians, but, according to Nishrîn, in 687; and was buried at the castle of Suguchik, where his sepulchre is at this day religiously visited by Mohammedans [e].

His death.

Othmân exalted.

Erdogrul left three sons; Othmân, Junduz, and Sarvîz. To Othmân, who, though the eldest, received in Aladin's family the diminutive appellation of Othmânchik, or Othmânjik, he left by will the inheritance which he had received from Aladin. The grateful Soltân not only confirmed his bequest, but made him chief of all the tekaddum, *governors* or *commanders*; and sent him the tab-lâlem, or *military ensigns*; that is, the drums, standards, and other ornaments of a general; with full power over his whole army. Over and above these honours, in all the cities and provinces which had been subdued by his father, or should be subdued by himself, he permitted him to coin money in his own name; and to have the khotba, that is, to be mentioned in the public prayers.

Conquests from the Greeks.

Othmân now seemed to want nothing of the royal dignity, but the title of soltân; which, however, he did not think safe to assume during the life of Aladin: but, preserving the allegiance he had sworn to that prince, judged it better to fight in his defence. He first reduced the princes who had revolted from the empire: then turning his arms against the Greeks, in the year 687, took the town of Kulza, the first-fruits of his victories, and added it to Aladin's dominions. The same year, he took Kalanos, or Kallinikus, brother to the captain of Karasheri, or the *black city*; whom he caused to be flayed, and then ordered the whole army to piss on his grave; from whence the field called before Tomalidz, still retains the name of It Ishni, or *dogs piss*. Othmân lost many men in this conflict, and among the rest his brother Junduz; who was buried in his father Erdogrul's sepulchre, near Suguchik. Immediately after this victory, he took also the city of Karakhisar, and annexed it to the Seljûkian empire.

Hejra 687. A.D. 1288.

Defeats the Mogols:

Aladin the second, or younger, being informed of Othmân's victories, invested him with the government of

[e] Cant. pref. p. 13. Hist. p. 9, 10.

(E) Or Kutayeh, the ancient Kotyæum and Kotiacum.

Eski-

Eſkiſhehr, or the *old city*. The next year, 688, Othmân expelled the Mogol Tatars, quite ſuppreſſed their incurſions on all ſides, and gained many ſignal victories. At length, having aſſembled inhabitants, and enlarged Karakhiſar with buildings and walls, he made it the ſeat of his reſidence. Hejra 668. A D. 1289.

In 698, Othmân took the caſtle of Jarhiſſar by ſtratagem; after which conqueſt, he added the towns of Bilejiki and Ayneghiol, with many other caſtles and their territories, to Aladin's dominions. Next year, a ſwarm of Gazanenſian Tatars (F) invading his kingdom, the princes and great men revolted a ſecond time. By this defection, the ſoltân's affairs becoming deſperate, he was forced to abandon his dominions, and privately fly to Michael Paleologus, the Greek emperor; who, inſtead of aſſiſting, impriſoned him (G). Hejra 699. A D. 1299.

on Aladin's retreat is proclaimed ſoltân.

The governors, on his retreat, divided his dominions among themſelves; but Othmân, far ſuperior to the reſt in power and wealth, prevailed with them all, partly by great preſents, partly by a communication of power, and partly by threats, to acknowlege him for ſovereign of the whole empire. Wherefore, by unanimous conſent of the great men and the army, he was in the beginning of the year 700, declared ſoltân, and in the city of Karakhiſar aſſumed the title of emperor of the Othmâns; into which name he changed that of Ogûzians, or Turks, as they were commonly called under both the Aladins. A.D. 1300.

Appoints governors.

Othmân being thus poſſeſſed of the empire, ſet his ſons over the provinces and cities to govern and protect them. The Sanjâk of Karajedâghi was given to Orkhân; that of Eſkiſhahri to Junduz Aleb; that of Ayn Onghi to Aygûd Aleb; that of Jarhiſſar to Huſan Aleb; and that of Ayneghiol to Dorgûd Aleb: but Alao'ddîn, his youngeſt ſon, with the government of the city Bilejîk, or Bilejîki, was committed to the care of his mother and father-in-law Baliâd. The city of Kuprihiſſar being alſo taken the ſame year, Othmân removed the imperial ſeat from Karakhiſſar to Jenghiſhahri; which he adorned with ſtately buildings, and ſtrongly fortified [f].

[f] Cant. pref. p. 13. Hiſt. 10—15.

(F) By this expreſſion is to be underſtood Tatars, or Mogols, ſent by Gazân, or Kazân Khân, who reigned at that time in Perſia.

(G) This is a very great blunder of our author: for how could Aladin fly, in 1299, to Michael Paleologus, who died in 1283?

This

This is the account which prince Cantemir gives us from the Turkish historians, of the origin and foundation of the Othmân empire: but it is no less liable to objections than what he has delivered, from the same authority, concerning the origin of the Othmân family. It is not at all probable, that Erdogrul, with but half his father's forces, could conquer all the country between Hâleb and Kayfariyah, or Cesarea, in Capadocia; one part having been in the hands of the successors of Salâho'ddîn, or Saladin, powerful princes; and the rest subject to Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd, the tenth and greatest of all the Seljûkian Soltâns of Rûm. There could be no room for making the vanquished embrace Mohammedism, since all the inhabitants of those countries, excepting a few, were Mohammedans for many ages before. If Erdogrul had conquered so many countries as is pretended, how came he to be so much at a loss for want of a habitation, as to beg one from Alao'ddîn?

The condition of the Soltân's granting his request could never be that of driving out the Tatars, since the Tatars did not enter his dominions during his reign; and, if they had, it is highly improbable, that Erdogrul, with only five thousand men, should defeat those people, who had defeated the forces of Alao'ddîn, a very powerful prince.

It is said in one place, that Othmân, by Alao'ddîn's consent, had the title of soltân stamped on his coin; and, in another, that he was afraid to assume that title. This is a flat contradiction: nor is it scarce possible, that Alao'ddîn, even had he been so weak a prince as he is represented by the Turkish historians, should have granted Othmân leave to assume all the royal honours.

It is not probable, that Othmân should add the conquests which he made from the Greeks to Alao'ddîn's dominions, if he had been allowed by agreement to keep them to himself.

It is impossible, that Alao'ddîn should fly, in the year 1299, to Michael Paleologus, the Greek emperor, who died sixteen years before: nor is it probable, that he should reign from 1219 to 1299; as he must have done, in case the Turkish historians mention only one Alao'ddîn, whom they call the second; but the falsity of this is demonstrable from the oriental historians, who reckon six kings within that interval, four of whom are mentioned by the Greek writers.

It

It is not probable, if the governors divided Alao'ddin's empire among themſelves upon his retreat, that they ſhould immediately ſubmit to Othmân, and acknowlege him for their Soltân: beſides, this fact is contradicted by the Greek hiſtorians, and even by the Turkiſh hiſtorians themſelves; according to whom it appears, that thoſe princes maintained their power as ſovereigns or ſoltâns, independently for a long time, till they were gradually ſubdued by the ſucceſſors of Othmân.

Laſtly, the diſtribution made among his ſons by Othmân of his territories (which appear to be no more than the few cities he had conquered, at no great diſtance one from the other) is a ſufficient proof that his dominions at that time were far from being large, much farther from compriſing the whole Seljûkian empire, or country of Rûm.

From the preceding remarks, we preſume it is manifeſt, that the original of the Othmân Turks, and their power, is very obſcure; and that their hiſtorians, eſpecially Saadi Effendi, have rendered it ſtill more doubtful, by the inconſiſtencies which the vain deſire of aggrandizing the founders of their empire has betrayed them into: on the contrary, the Turkiſh annals tranſlated by Gaudier, which Cantemir treats as fabulous, and with ſo much contempt, are free from thoſe ſtains which diſcredit the writings of that prince's favourite authors. *Concluſion.*

For although thoſe annals recite the ſuſpicious genealogy of Othmân, and ſuppoſe Soltân Alao'ddîn, as well as Soleymân Shâh, to be driven out of Perſia by the Tartars; yet nothing occurs afterwards inconſiſtent with the Seljûkian hiſtory, or the probability of facts.

They only relate in ſubſtance, that Solymân Shâh, coming to Arzingân, made an inroad into Aſia Minor as far as Amâſia, and carried off much plunder; that then, turning off towards Halep, he was drowned at Jabber: that hereupon Ertokul (or Erdogrul) marching up the Euphrates to the Paſſonian (H) plains, there encamped with four hundred portable houſes after their manner: that he continued there for a time, during which interval he had many bickerings with the neighbouring people: at length, being informed that ſoltân Alao'ddîn had ſubdued ſeveral provinces in Aſia Minor, and founded a great empire, he ſent Sarigati, one of his three ſons, to intreat that he *Other Turkiſh accounts.*

(H) Or the plain of Paſin Waſi, twelve miles beyond Arzerûm. Leunclav. Hiſt. Muſel. Turc. lib. ii. p. 97.

would

would grant him some place in his dominions, where he might dwell with his followers: that Alao'ddîn readily consenting to his petition, appointed them a country fit for their habitation, both in the summer and winter seasons: that a certain nation at the same juncture advanced against the soltân; and while this prince marched with his forces to give them battle, Ertokul, with his sons Sarigati and Ozmân, made the best of their way towards Enguri, or Ancyra: that Ertokul, settling thereabout with his people, never ceased harrassing the neighbouring Greeks with incursions: and that, having governed them
A.D. 1228. for fifty-two years, he died in 687: that, some territories being conquered, his son Ozmân founded a principality, or dominion, and divided part of it among the commanders who came thither with his father Ertokul: that afterwards Ozmân, and his son Ur Khân joining their forces, turned their arms against the Christians, and laying all waste before them, took Isnîk, or Nice [g].

Authors most approved.

To confirm the judgment which we have passed on the historians made use of by prince Cantemir, we shall produce the authority of count Marsigli, who, during some years stay in Turky, made it his business to enquire into the ancient as well as modern state of the Othmân empire. This nobleman remarks the same difference as we have observed among the Turkish authors, relating to the origin of the Othmân family, and declares, directly contrary to what prince Cantemir asserts, that those only are generally approved of which represent the facts agreeable to the Turkish annals of Gaudier.

Saadi Effendi of Lariſſa.

The chief Turkish authors whom prince Cantemir made use of in framing his History of the Othmâns, seem to have been two, both bearing the name of Saadi Effendi, but distinguished by other marks. The first is called Saadi Effendi of Lariſſa, and styled by Cantemir, the most learned Saadi, author of the elaborate Synopsis Historiarum, collected from the most celebrated historians, Mevlana Idris, Neshrîn, Saadi, Tajo'ltaverickh, Peckovi, and Hezarfen (I). It was published in 1696, and dedicated to soltân Mostafa, who in that year began his reign [h].

Cantemir's

[g] Annal. Soltanor. p. 2. [h] Cant. pref. p. 7.

(I) Hussein Effendi Hezarfen, or Hazarfen, a modern Turk, who has given a history of all the Turkish monarchies. It is an abstract of Al Jannâbi, the Arabian's General History of

Cantemir's hiſtory ſeems to be a tranſlation, or abridgment of this author; and yet he no where expreſly tells us ſo: it is true, he quotes others in his preface, notes, and hiſtory, preceding Othmân; but gives little or no account of them, or how far he has made uſe of them; only ſays, in general, that he has collected his hiſtory from the beſt Turkiſh hiſtorians, and delivered matters in their own words[i].

Saado'ddîn Mohammed

The other Saadi is the ſame with the author of the Tajo'ttaverikh: his name, according to D'Herbelot, is Saado'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Haſſan, the moſt famous and elegant of all the Turkiſh hiſtorians: he was preceptor to Soltân Morâd, or Amurath III. ſon of Selîm, and advanced even to the dignity of mufti. He is commonly called Khowajeh, or Khoja Effendi, and has compoſed, in very elegant Turkiſh, the book intitled, Tajo'ltawarîkh, or al Tevarikh, as the Turks pronounce it, that is, *the Crown of Hiſtories*, which is a hiſtory of the Othmân ſoltâns, from the commencement of their monarchy to Solymân I.[k] Prince Cantemir calls this work Saadi Tajo'ltavarikh, and its compiler Saadi Effendi, the famous author of the Othmân annals Tajo'ltaverikh, ſo approved by the Othmâns, and gives him the character of one who was not more zealous for the Othmân glory than hiſtorical truth; which judgment, we apprehend, from the remarks that have already been made on him, will not be thought ſtrictly true.

Turkiſh annals.

Before prince Cantemir's hiſtory appeared, we had a Latin tranſlation of a Turkiſh author, by John Gaudier, alias Spiegel, under the title of Annales Sultanorum Oſmanidarum, which carries down the hiſtory from their original to the year 1550, and ſeems to give a plain and undiſguiſed relation of facts, from the earlieſt hiſtorians. However, prince Cantemir endeavours to wound the credit of theſe annals through the ſides of Gaudier, whom he charges with too boldly aſſerting for truth what he had taken from ſome Turkiſh chronicle concerning the Othmân race. To us, however, there ſeems to be nothing fabu-

[i] Ibid. Hiſt. Othm. p. 266.

[k] D'Herb. p. 728. Art. Saad Eddin ben Haſſan.

of Aſia, and was publiſhed in Turkiſh, in 1672: it has been tranſlated by M. de la Croix ſenior, interpreter to Lewis XIV. of France. See De la Croix's Hiſt. of Jenghiz Can, p. 427. and pref. to Hiſt. of Timour Bec, p. 22.

lous in it but what concerns the genealogy of Othmân, and affects it in common with the other histories.

In short, we meet, in the annals, with none of those glaring marks of forgery which appear in the histories made use of by prince Cantemir. However, as the flaws to be found in the Othmân history chiefly affect this part of it, which the writers had most temptation to adulterate, we shall for the future follow them with less scruple; our design being not to destroy the authority of the Turkish history in general, as delivered by their own authors, but only to separate the spurious part from the genuine, and point out the absurdities which their pride has introduced, through a vain imagination, that it would diminish the lustre of a potent empire, should it be thought to have arisen from an inconsiderable beginning, and that the origin of its founders was obscure. This book was published by Leunclavius, with very learned and useful notes, geographical and historical, under the title of Pandects.

The European authors are justly censured by prince Cantemir, as being full of fables, barbarisms, and anachronisms, owing to their ignorance in the oriental languages and histories, of which his quotations from Nicephorus Gregoras and Lonicerus, concerning the successors of Jenghîz Khân [1] are flagrant proofs; but, on the other side, it may be as justly retorted, that he himself has committed mistakes in history, chronology, and geography, which he could not have done, had he been only tolerably versed in the oriental authors. It appears he was but little acquainted with any part of the Mohammedan history, except that of the Othmân Turks; but to have written well on their affairs, he ought at least to have consulted the Seljûkian authors, in case any be remaining, as he seems to intimate.

It is very usual with prince Cantemir to assert things without bringing his vouchers; and to give his own opinion, or report of matters, for that of others. He is apt also to mix the different accounts of authors together, without distinguishing them; which, with his own historical and geographical mistakes, makes a strange rhapsody of error and confusion throughout his preface, and in the beginning of his history; but he grows more correct as he advances from the early times of the Othmân monarchy; and indeed is recommendable, not only for having given

[1] Cant. pref. p. 9.

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us a Turkiſh hiſtory, taken immediately from the Turkiſh authors, but alſo for a great number of very uſeful notes, wherewith it is illuſtrated.

With regard to the Greek, commonly called the Byzantine hiſtorians, there are but three or four who treat of the affairs of the Othmâns, namely Nicephorus Gregoras, the emperor John Kantakuzenus, Dukas, and Laonicus Khalkondylas, or Khalkokondylas: the firſt of theſe authors, as prince Cantemir obſerves, is rather a rhetorician than an hiſtorian, as indeed moſt of thoſe writers are who ſpeak of foreign affairs only occaſionally, and neglect the eſſentials of the hiſtory and chronology to attend to the poliſhing of their ſtyle. Kantakuzenus does not ſay a great deal on the ſubject; but Dukas treats copiouſly, and like an hiſtorian, of the Turkiſh wars, from the death of Orkhan to the taking of Conſtantinople by Mohammed II. Couſin, who tranſlated ſeveral of the Byzantine writers into French, ſays, his work is more extenſive than that of Khalkondylas, becauſe he goes farther back, and that it is conducted with much more judgment. *The Byzantine hiſtorians.*

However that may be, the hiſtory of Dukas is not near ſo voluminous as that of Khalkondylas, who has profeſſedly written a hiſtory of the Turks to the ſame period: but nothing can be more jejune or incorrect than his account of the origin of thoſe people, and the firſt Othmân ſoltâns. He quotes no authors for what paſſed before his own time, and indeed ſeems to follow none. The ſmall conformity there is between his account of affairs, and that given by Pakkamir, Kantakuzenus, and Dukas, ſhews that he was quite unacquainted with thoſe authors; and that he rather wrote what he remembered to have heard, than from books. *More weſtern writers.*

From the taking of Conſtantinople, the hiſtory has been carried down to the preſent times by the Venetian, German, and other weſtern authors. Among the reſt, John Leunclavius, a German, hath, beſides the annals before mentioned, publiſhed the Hiſtory of the Turks, taken from their own hiſtorians (K). Theſe differ much from the annals; and the hiſtorians made uſe of by prince Cantemir differ ſtill more from them. Hence it appears, that the Turks have more than once brought their hiſtory under the hammer; and that the firſt eſſays not pleaſing their vanity,

(K) Hiſtoriæ Muſalmanæ ſorum exſcriptæ, lib. xviii. Turcorum de monumentis ip- Francfort, 1591.

they have raised it anew upon a plan more to their liking, but still more inconsistent with truth.

Leunclavius has improved his history with indexes, in which are explained all the Turkish words that occur, with the situations of places, and the names they had before the Turks changed them, a work which manifests the great learning, genius, and application of its author: but the misfortune is, he has mixed what the Greeks and others have written, with the Turkish memoirs, and not always sufficiently distinguished the reports of one author from those of another.

SECT. II.

The Reign of Othmân, or Ozmân, First Khân, or Soltân.

Rise of Othmân.

WE find in the Greek writers an account of the rise of Othmân, more exact perhaps than that which we meet with in the Turkish; and at the same time not inconsistent with their's. Laonicus Khalkondylas informs us, that the Ogûzians, after their coming into Asia Minor, settled in a little town or village, called Soguta, on the borders of Mysia, and not above fifteen or sixteen leagues distant from the Propontis.

Elected chief.

After they had dwelt here for a long time, Othmân, by his courtesy and gifts, so gained on them, that they chose him for their chief. Thus invested with authority, he immediately armed them; and falling on all sides on the Greeks, with whom before they had frequent bickerings, defeated some, and expelled others from the country, of which they took possession. He afterwards obtained frequent victories; which coming to the ears of Soltân Aladin, he made him his lieutenant-general: but Aladin dying soon after, great disputes arose among his great officers. At length they entered into a league to make conquests, with their joint forces, and then divide them amongst themselves. In these expeditions Othmân signalized his valour and conduct above all the rest. The commanders, who were seven in number, divided the territories they had conquered, by casting lots; which fell in the following manner: 1. All the inner parts of Phrygia, as far as Cilicia and Philadelphia, fell to the share of Karamân; 2. Sar Kân had the maritime provinces of Ionia, which extended to Smyrna; 3. Kalamuz, and his son Karaz,

One of the seven Turkish princes takes Bilejiki and other places by stratagem.

Karaz, poſſeſſed Lydia, to the frontiers of Myſia; 4. Bithynia, with all the countries towards mount Olympus, fell to Othmân and Tekies; 5. Paphlagonia, with other lands, extending to the Propontis, became the lot of the ſons of Omur. As for Kermian, it is ſaid he was not of the number; but that having at the beginning of theſe revolutions ſeized on Ikonium, he was afterwards driven out, and retired into Ionia, where he lived a private life [m].

This heptarchy, or diviſion among the Turkiſh chiefs, we ſhall ſee confirmed hereafter by Pakhemire and Dukas, and even by the circumſtances of the Turkiſh hiſtory itſelf: from whence it appears, that although Othmân continued his conqueſts, and might have improved his ſhare more than ſome of the other Turkiſh commanders, yet he was ſtill upon the ſame footing with them; nor ſeems to have aſſumed any titles or authority above the reſt: but as he laid the foundation of a great empire, which his ſucceſſors completed, it is proper that his reign ſhould commence from the time that he became an independent prince, after the extinction of the Seljûkian monarchy, when the partition made by the Turkiſh commanders took place; which muſt have been in the year 1300, or not long after.

Among the exploits already mentioned to have been performed by Othmân before the diſſolution of the Seljûkian monarchy, that of his taking the city of Bilejiki deſerves a more particular account. The Turkiſh hiſtorians write, that in the year 698, Mikhael Koſa, that is, *Goat's Beard*, governor of Bilejiki, having invited Othmân to the marriage of his daughter, the other Greek governors of the neighbouring places reſolved to ſeize his perſon. Being informed of their deſign, by his truſty friend Mikhael, he ordered ſome hundreds of ſoldiers to conceal themſelves near the place, and forty well armed men, dreſſed like women, to enter the caſtle of Jarhiſſar, and in the night ſet fire to the houſes about it: mean while he repaired with a ſmall retinue to Kakirhumar, a place in the ſuburbs, where the marriage was to be celebrated. At the time appointed, the forty diſguiſed ſoldiers ſet fire to the town, then without garriſon; which, as ſoon as Othmân perceived, he gave the ſignal to the ſoldiers in ambuſh, who, ruſhing on the gueſts buried in wine, ſlew them all, without diſtinction of ſex, excepting Mikhael, and a few Hejra 698.

[m] Khalkondylas, lib. i. cap. 4.

others; among whom was the bride Holofira, of noble deſcent. This lady, Othmân afterwards married to his ſon Or Khân; by whom ſhe had Solymân and Murâd.

This affair is repreſented ſomewhat differently by the Chriſtian writers.

Defect in his ſtory. We meet with little or no account in the Turkiſh hiſtory of the actions of Othmân for the firſt ſeventeen years of his reign; which argues a great want of records during that time. To fill up this gap, we are only told, that after he had removed his reſidence to Jenghiſhahri, as before mentioned, he ſpent ſome time in regulating his domeſtic affairs. We ſhall, therefore, in ſome meaſure, ſupply the defect out of the Byzantine hiſtorians; by ſhewing the miſerable ſtate to which the Greek affairs in Aſia were reduced at the time of Othmân's firſt appearance on the theatre of action.

A.D. 1302. We have related, towards the cloſe of the Seljûkian hiſtory, by what means the affairs of the Eaſt, which had been reſtored by Tarkoniates, came to be again ruined. Some time after, ſix thouſand Alans, who had ſerved Nogas, the Tartar, came to offer their ſervice to the emperor Andronicus; who receiving them as ſuccours ſent from heaven, divided them into three bodies: the greater number he ſent before into the Eaſt, and reſerved the moſt valiant for the young emperor Mikhael, who, eager to be in action, followed ſoon after, and encamped at Magneſia, near the deſert. From thence he ſent out detachments that ſcoured the enemy's country, and brought off much plunder; while the Turks betook themſelves to the hills, and their ſtrong holds: but afterwards aſſembling their forces, and deſcending into the plains, the emperor was prevailed on to retreat, by the chief officers of his army, who magnified the forces of the enemy.

The emperor's retreat encourages the Turks.

This ſhameful retreat encouraged the Turks to make incurſions as far as the field of Menomene, and ruin the country on all ſides, while the emperor was ſhut up in Magneſia. The Alans, after this expedition, demanded leave to return; and as the whole defence of the empire then depended on them, when the young emperor found that he could detain them no longer, he retired as ſecretly as he could from Magneſia, in a dark and ſtormy night. The Turks had ſo over-run the country to the ſouth of Pergamus, that the inhabitants, abandoning their houſes and effects, fled for ſafety, ſome into that city, others into Endromit, or Adromitium, and to the ſea-coaſt, near Lamp-

Lampſakus; while many croſſed the Helleſpont into Europe; ſo great was the general fear and diſtreſs.

The Eaſt being thus incloſed, as it were, by the Turks, from one ſea to the other, Othmân appeared on the 27th day of July, at the head of a very numerous army, near Vaſeum, a place not far from Nikomedia. After having pillaged the country about Nice, he croſſed the mountains, to ravage the territories of the Aliſons; and was joined by more forces from Paphlagonia, who ſeemed reſolved to overrun at once all that remained to the Romans. All the troops which Muzalon had, both of Romans and Alans, to oppoſe ſuch formidable enemies, did not amount to two thouſand men: beſides, a miſunderſtanding ariſing between the two parties, they made but ſmall reſiſtance. A good number was ſlain by the Turks, and the Romans fled ſhamefully to Nikomedia; while many Alans loſt their lives to favour their eſcape. After this defeat, the people ran for ſhelter to that city; and the Turks ravaged the country every-where, without oppoſition, to the very walls of Pruſa, Nice, and Endromit, where the emperor then was. In ſhort, the whole Eaſt was ruined by the fury of arms, excepting the ſtrong-holds and fortified places. There was only a ſmall ſpace of land towards the ſea, about Akhirao, Cyzicus, Piga, and Lopadion, exempt from pillage. A.D. 1302. *Othmân ravages Bithynia.*

With regard to the iſlands, after the pirates abandoned Tenedos, which had long been their place of rendezvous, the Turks ſeized it; and, with the veſſels they built there, ſubdued the iſlands of the Archipelago, Samos, Karpathus, and even Rhodes, which they entirely laid waſte. A.D. 1303. *The emperor's policy.*

The emperor finding that he could not by force of arms repreſs the enemy, who made incurſions as far as the Boſphorus, had recourſe to other meaſures. Kuximpaxis (L), a Tartar, on the death of Nogais, to whom he was ſtrictly attached, fled, with his wife and children, towards the Eaſt; but being driven by contrary winds towards Heraklea, implored the emperor's protection, was received, and embraced the Chriſtian faith. Andronicus, in the ſequel, having brought about a match between the daughter of his convert and Soliman Paxis, chief of the Turks, who were neareſt the frontiers, gave the government of the country round Nikomedia to Kuximpaxis; in hopes Solymân would ſpare the Roman frontiers, out of reſpect to his father-in-

(L) Perhaps Kuſhim Paſhi, or Baſhi.

law. But this piece of policy did not succeed to his expectation: for although Soliman forbore incursions, yet he could not restrain Amurat, another commander, from pillaging; the chiefs acting independently of each other. Besides, the moment one chief quitted the field, his soldiers listed under another, who continued to ravage the country; so that Solyman's men committed the same hostilities, as if their chief had been at their head [n].

A.D. 1304. *Turkish princes.*

In short, there were then in arms several parties under so many different commanders, as Atman or Othmân, Atin or Aydin, Alisuras Mantakkia, Lamises, Sfondiles, Pagdin, and others, who, like a devouring fire, had ruined all the country. The emperor had no forces to oppose the enemy, and but one way left to raise any; and that was, by making use of the fund out of which the pensions of the churches, monasteries, and his guards, were paid. The emperor Mikhael finding it not safe to remain at Pergamus, went with his troops to Cyzicus, whither the people, who could escape, retired with their effects; but fearing to be besieged, he soon after removed to Piga, a little city near the sea, where he fell into a dangerous sickness, caused by grief and vexation. A little before this retreat, on the 8th of August, there happened an earthquake: it was scarce felt about Constantinople; but at Rhodes it was extremely violent, and did much mischief. It was also very great at Alexandria, and the country round: it shook Koron, Methone, a part of the Morea, and the island of Kandia; in all which places much damage was done.

Violent earthquake.

The Catalans arrive.

In the September following, Roger came, at the invitation of the emperor, with seven ships, and a fleet of his allies, both Catalans and Amogavares, to the number of eight thousand men. This Roger had served in the wars between the kings of Sicily and Naples; which being at an end, he, to avoid falling into the hands of the pope, who had demanded him, had recourse to the emperor. Fernand Ximenez had arrived before, with his subjects armed, to serve for pay against the Turks. The emperor, charmed with so large a succour, conferred on Roger the title of grand duke, and gave him his niece in marriage: but his troops being transported to Cyzicus, committed all sorts of violences, plundered the towns, carried off the women, and treated the inhabitants as if they had been slaves. Fernand did what he could, by his remonstrances,

[n] Pakh. lib. x. cap. 16, 17. 19, 20. 25, 26. 29, 30.

to

to reſtrain their outrages; but finding it in vain, returned home with his troops: nor would the emperor Mikhael receive the Grand Duke, when he went to viſit him at Piga.

Sardes preſerved.

As the emperor had not yet forces ſufficient to make head againſt the enemy, he had recourſe to Kazan Khân, of the Tartars, who accepted his offer of an alliance, and promiſed to put a ſtop to their ravages. As ſoon as this news came to their ears, they ſlackened their incurſions; and Alaïs began to think how he ſhould preſerve the rich booty which he had acquired in Myſia. There was at Sardes an exceeding ſtrong citadel, inacceſſible on every ſide. Alaïs ſent to acquaint thoſe who held it, that in caſe they would give him one half, which was ſeparated from the other by a ſtrong wall, with only a gate of communication, he would ſuffer them to cultivate their lands in peace. This offer neceſſity induced them to accept of, againſt their inclinations; and indeed the fear of the Tatars was no ſooner over, than Alaïs formed the deſign of making himſelf maſter of the whole citadel. This deſign coming to the knowlege of the Romans, they reſolved to prevent him; and ſending for ſome troops, who were in the neighbourhood, came upon the Turks, when they were aſleep, and put them all to the ſword °.

A.D. 1305.

In the mean time, the miſeries of the Eaſt increaſed daily: the enemy took Cele, Aſtrabilus, and Hiero, where they exerciſed the greateſt cruelties. Nikomedia was extremely preſſed by famine; Belokome, Angelkome, Anagourde, Plataneum, and Melageum, were almoſt depopulated: Krullum and Katacium were in a worſe ſtate. The roads from Nice to Heraklea and Nemikome, before the moſt frequented of all, were then quite deſert. There was only one ſmall road opened from Cio thither, through the foreſt. Paſſengers uſed to croſs the neck of land from Cio, by night; and then embarking in the other bay, go by water to the only gate of Nice, which was open.

Other cities expoſed.

Othmân takes Belokome.

The emperor having ſent ſome troops to Katacium, they were no ſooner arrived, than five thouſand Turks, under Othmân, appeared before the place. The ſoldiers, unable to oppoſe them, fled; and a multitude of women and children were taken priſoners under the walls of the fort; then the country was ravaged. Othmân, on his return, receiving advice that the inhabitants of Belokome had joined the Roman troops in their retreat, ſo that the place was

° Cant. Hiſt. Othman l. 11. c. 9—17.

without

without defence, he took it by assault, slaying part of the people, and seized a prodigious quantity of riches.

Philadelphia besieged.

While the Catalans exercised horrid cruelties at Cyzicus, Alisuras besieged the city of Philadelphia with an army of Karmanians, the most powerful people among the Turks, took all the neighbouring forts, and reduced the place to great distress. In March the army set forward from Cyzicus, consisting of eight thousand men, one thousand Romans, six thousand Italians, and a thousand Alans. Marulus commanded the Romans; but the Grand Duke Roger was generalissimo, with an absolute power.

A.D. 1306. On his approach to Gherme, the Turks shamefully deserted their fort, leaving their baggage behind. From thence he passed by Kliara, and other places, to succour Philadelphia. On his way the inhabitants of Tripoli, which had been taken some time before by the Karmanians, sent to desire his assistance. He attacked the Turks at Aulak, and defeated them; their general Alisuras, who was wounded, flying to Amur for safety: and thus the siege of Philadelphia was raised.

Tripoli taken by stratagem.

Although Tripoli was formerly no more than in the rank of citadels, the emperor Dukas enlarged and fortified it, so as to serve as a bulwark to cover Philadelphia. The report went, that this last city had never been taken since the deluge; which tradition made the inhabitants so vain, that they despised the arms of the Turks. Tripoli, however, came to be besieged by them, at length; and the inhabitants being reduced to famine, prevailed on the Turks both to supply them with provisions, and suffer them to go out to buy necessaries. The Turks taking advantage of the liberty they had of going to Tripoli to sell their provisions, by means of some inhabitants whom they bribed, introduced sacks full of trumpets, drums, and other warlike music, instead of corn. At midnight the Turks, who came with the sacks, sounded the instruments; and while the people were confounded at the unexpected noise, the traitors opening the gates, let in Alisuras, whom it afterwards served for a place of retreat, from whence he made incursions with his Karmanians.

A.D. 1306. Roger, after his victory, returned by the forts of Kula and Turnus, to Philadelphia, where he raised immense sums by force. He exercised the like exactions at Pyrga and Ephesus, in the isle of Scio, Lemnos and Mitylene, torturing people to discover their hidden treasure, and putting those to death who refused, not sparing the emperor's officers, and even governors of places. The inhabitants

Roger's exactions.

bitants of Magnesia, having been ill used by him, on the arrival of Roman troops, had killed some of his Italian garrison, and imprisoned the rest. On this advice, Roger hastened to besiege the place: but finding, after several fruitless attacks, that there was no likelihood of taking it, he offered to retire, provided they would deliver him his money and baggage, which he had lodged there. This proposal they rejected with scorn, and added insult to their refusal [p].

The Turks ravages.

While Roger lay with his forces before Magnesia, the Turks ravaged the Roman territories, without controul: and though the emperor often sent orders to him to withdraw, he paid no regard to them: yet at last, wearied out with fatigue, the grand duke was obliged to raise the siege. In his way back to Mitylene he burdened the cities with great exactions; and from thence passing with his troops to Lampsacus, he crossed over to Callipoli [q].

Philadelphia besieged.

While the troops were committing great disorders in Europe, the East was neglected; and Philadelphia so closely besieged by the Turks (M), that the inhabitants were forced to feed on dead bodies, for want of provisions. At the same time the Mussulmans attacked the island of Scio with thirty ships, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, excepting some who fled to a fort, and others who escaped in forty vessels, only to be cast away near Skyra. Although the emperor conferred on Roger the dignity of Cæsar, in order to satisfy his ambition, if possible, and prevail on him to defend the East against the Turks, yet still he eluded the performance of his engagements by his usual artifices. He promised, on receiving that honour, with eleven thousand crowns in gold, to pass over immediately into Asia with three thousand men, and dismiss the rest; but instead of disbanding any, he sent some over to Cyzicus, Piga, and Lupadion; and retained the Catalans, under pretence that they had not received their pay.

Roger slain.

Being afterwards curious to know the strength of the emperor Michael's army, he went in March to Adrianople, with a guard of an hundred and fifty men, under pretence of taking leave of that prince, whom he had never seen before he embarked. Michael, though surprised at his arrival, received him with many caresses; but two or three days after, as he was entering alone into the

[p] Pakh. l. 11. c. 21—26. [q] Ibid. l. 12. c. 3.

(M) Under Alisuras, we presume.

apart-

apartment of the empress, George, the chief of the Alans, whose son had been killed by the Catalans at Cyzicus, took that opportunity to revenge his death, and ran him through the body. Thus fell, says our author, this unjust and insolent, but fierce and intrepid barbarian. While the Asiatics, in revenge for his cruelties to their countrymen, were cutting his body in pieces, his Italians were seized and cast into prison [r].

The Catalans revenge.

The Catalans, on the news of their chief's death, put the inhabitants of Kallipoli, of which they had long been masters, to the sword, excepting some whom they reserved to exchange for those who were at Adrianople. The emperor sent some troops to relieve the fort of Kallipoli; but the Catalans were so far from apprehending any danger, that they passed over into Asia, and put to the sword all the people able to bear arms in Perinthus, and the neighbouring country. Those who escaped fled to Constantinople, which was now, as it were, the only asylum left for the inhabitants of the provinces to retire to, from the general desolation caused by the Turks, and other enemies of the Romans [s].

A.D. 1307.

The emperor Michael defeated by them.

The young emperor was the more intent on relieving Kallipoli, which was besieged by the Amogavares, as he was informed they expected succours, and had invited over the Turks; and sent three commanders with troops sufficient to defeat them: but the enemy having drawn them into an ambuscade, by leaving droves of cattle without the town, to allure them forward, they were themselves defeated with considerable slaughter. Michael, to efface the shame of this defeat, left Adrianople with his army; and being arrived at a place called Imeri, ranged them in order of battle; the van consisted of the Alans and Turks, called Turkopoli; the main body of the Macedonians and troops of the East; the rear was composed of the Walakkians and volunteers. The Roman army consisted of five legions, and that of the enemy of four, whereof one was Turks.

The Alans and Turkopoli (M) began the battle; but after the first attack on the Catalans, who stood like rocks,

[r] Park. l. 12. c. 14. 22, & seqq. [s] Ibid. c. 14, & seq.

(M) The Turkopoli were Turks left in Thrace by Soltân Azzo'ddîn, the twelve Seljûkians of Rûm, when he fled from Aynum; and becoming Christians, were enrolled among the Greek soldiers.

they

they turned their backs and fled; a circumſtance which diſcouraging the reſt, they began to retreat. The young emperor endeavouring, by his example, to make them ſtand their ground, was in the utmoſt hazard of being killed or taken, for he ſtood firm in the midſt of danger; and could hardly be brought off by the perſuaſions of thoſe about him, ſhedding tears, and tearing his hair for vexation. The conſequence of this defeat muſt have been very bad, if the enemy had not been hindered from purſuing the Romans, under the imagination that they wanted to draw them into an ambuſcade. The Alans, to make the emperor amends for loſing the battle, began to ſcour the country, and pillage his ſubjects, as other ſtrangers had done.

Their allies killed.

Although the troops which guarded the ſtreights of Avido, hindered the Turks from approaching it; yet they were as much maſters of the other ſide; but Zakaria Manuel, by the reputation of the valour of the Italians who were under his command, kept them at a diſtance from Endromit and Phocea [t].

Soon after this tranſaction, the Turks differing with the Italians about the diviſion of the plunder, part of them took ſhipping, with a deſign to paſs the ſtreight of Kallipoli; but meeting with Andrew Mureſk, who was paymaſter of the navy, they were all cut to pieces, an execution which made the reſt continue with the Italians, and ravage Thrace.

A.D. 1308.

Amogavare's treachery and ſucceſs.

In the mean time the fort of Kubukleum in Myſia, being hard preſſed by the Turks, Makrenus, governor of Lupadion, ſent thither ſixty Amogavares, who having treated ſecretly with the enemy, as ſoon as they got into the place, ſlew the remainder of the garriſon, drove out the inhabitants, and delivered it up to the Turks; after which exploit they were conducted to Lampſacus, and from thence croſſed the Helleſpont into Europe.

Mureſk was made admiral for the action above mentioned; but having only two ſhips left of his fleet, was ſoon after met by the enemy, commanded by Philip, whom but a little before he had fought and taken; but now fortune changing ſides, Philip took him, after killing all his men; and, in return for his generoſity, ranſomed him for three thouſand crowns.

The Amovagares grown more bold by this advantage, treated with the Turks commanded by Atin, and brought

[t] Pakh. cap. 29, 30. 32.

over

over two thousand into Europe, with some Romans, who had joined them in Asia: by this reinforcement grown formidable, they did incredible mischief in the open country.

Catalan knavery. The Turks having seized the fort of Examiles, the emperor sent Marulus, with what troops could be assembled, to prevent their farther progress: on his approach to Apros, Rocafort, the Catalan, who was at the fort, sent to tell him, he intended to go over to the emperor with two hundred men; and that in case they would give him five thousand crowns, he would kill all the Turks that were in Europe. Marulus, desiring to know in what manner he could destroy such a prodigious multitude, he answered, that he would separate them into small bodies, and so destroy them one after the other; and that, as an earnest of his performance, he sent him the heads of several whom he had already killed. Marulus believed this to be a proof of the Catalan's sincerity, and would have been his dupe for the money, if a woman had not known one of the heads to have been that of her husband, slain in the last rencounter.

Sayfan takes Ephesus. The emperor, to retrieve the affairs of the East, sent over corn to the garrisons, and demanded of Karbaga, khân of the Tatars, the same favour which he had desired of Kazân Khân, his predecessor. His ambassador brought word that the khân was very willing to grant his request; that he had actually raised an army of forty thousand men; and that his nephew had already advanced, at the head of twenty thousand, as far as Kogni, with orders to follow in all things the emperor's directions; but while he was busy in preparing presents, and instructions for his ambassadors, news came of the taking of Ephesus by Soltân Sayfan, who having thrown off his allegiance to his uncle Karamân Mantakhia, was become very powerful. The inhabitants, to avoid the extremities of war, surrendered upon articles which were not well kept; for most of them were sent to the fort of Tyreum, for fear of insurrections, and some were massacred.

Ishak Malek's offer. In the mean time a Turk, named Ishak Mâlek, sent privately to offer to join the emperor; who, ready to catch at every appearance of advantage to his affairs, promised him the daughter of another Mâlek in marriage, with considerable presents on that occasion. Among the services which Mâlek proposed to do, one was, to engage the Turkopoli to quit the interest of the Catalans, provided

vided their wives and children were reſtored to them. This negociation having been diſcovered, Rocafort accuſed Mâlek, and ſome of his aſſociates, of treaſon. They ſaid, in their defence, they had nothing in view but to ſerve the Turkopoli, by drawing their families out of the emperor's hands. However, Mâlek found means to croſs over into Aſia, while the Catalans ſcoured the ſea, and carried their ravages by land to the very gates of Conſtantinople [u].

The Genoeſe were at length prevailed on to attack Callipoli, and burned a market without the town; but ſome of the chief among them being ſlain, and Mureſk, the Roman admiral, wounded; apprehending likewiſe, by the motions of the beſieged, that they intended to make a ſally, they were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they fled to their ſhips, and returned to their own country. This retreat encouraged the Catalans to ſuch a degree, that they refuſed to make peace with the emperor, unleſs upon their own terms. They were farther animated by the arrival of four hundred Turks from Aſia, who took the fortreſs on Mount Gana, and made incurſions as far as Rodeſto and Bizya, or Biza; wherefore the emperor, to prevent their advancing nearer Conſtantinople, ordered all the ſtock which was upon the ground to be burned, as far as Selivrea. *Genoeſe cowardice.*

Iſhak Malek, after this tranſaction, ſent to renew his propoſal with the emperor Andronicus, demanding the daughter of Malek, who had been promiſed him. He likewiſe required that the emperor would confer on Malek, his uncle, and father of that princeſs (N), the dignity of ſoltân. Andronicus, not thinking it proper to agree to this demand, only ſent Malek, with his daughter, to Piga, and gave him the government of that city; in the mean time ſhips were getting ready to carry into Aſia the Turks whom Iſhak Malek had engaged to draw off. As the Catalans and Turks were before Rodeſto, eager to take it, becauſe it hindered their incurſions into Thrace, the emperor ſent two veſſels to carry off the uſeleſs people; a ſervice which the Turks, by pretending to fly, gave an opportunity of performing; and the beſieged, re- *The Turks withdraw.*

[u] Pakh. lib. xiii. cap. 3. 9—15.

(N) There muſt be ſome great miſtake here; one Malek (which is only a title) being confounded with another. She was daughter of Malek Maſur, or Maſſûd, afterwards Soltân, who was ſlain, or died, in 1288.

ſuming

ſuming courage, made the Catalans withdraw. However, it was taken ſoon after by Rocafort, and retaken by Dukas, the grand heteriarch.

Malek ſlain. Iſhak Malek, purſuant to this agreement, croſſed the Helleſpont with the moſt conſiderable among the Turks. As it was no difficult matter for him to perſuade thoſe people to ſeparate from the Catalans, they boldly attacked the Italians who commanded them; and having ſlain them, ran to the ſhore, in order to get aboard the ſhips, ſent thither to carry them over into Aſia. The news of this maſſacre, and their flight, coming quickly to the ears of the Catalans, they purſued them immediately, and obliged them to ſubmit, after killing above two hundred. The Turks, reduced in this manner, offered to ſerve them as before; but the Catalans refuſed to truſt them, unleſs they delivered up Iſhak Malek, his brother, and Takantziaris, commander of the Turkopoli, whom they ſuſpected as the authors of their revolt. When thoſe three perſons were put into their hands, they cut off the heads of the two brothers, and, on ſtripping them, found under the arm of Iſhak a letter of the emperor's, inviting the Turks to embrace his party.

The Turkopoli depart. Matters being thus agreed, it was propoſed to beſiege Khiorli; but the Turkopoli refuſed to march till their chief was releaſed. This favour being granted, they ſeemed all united in the ſame deſign, but ſoon ſeparated again. The Catalans attacked the city, and were repulſed by the garriſon. Takantziaris retired with the Turkopoli to the fort of Apros; and the Turks, who remained before Khiorli, underſtanding that there were Catalan ſhips on the coaſt, had a mind to ſeize them, in order to paſs over into Aſia; but they failed in the attempt.

Othmân's advances. While the Catalans were continuing their ravages in Europe, Othmân made no leſs havock in Aſia Minor; in reſentment that Mary, the emperor's ſiſter, and the queen of the Muguls (O), had treated him with contempt, and threatened to complain of him to Karbaga, or Khorbanda. This khân had detached thirty thouſand men from Perſia, who being arrived on the eaſtern frontiers of the empire, Andronicus ſent them rich preſents; but their arrival, inſtead of abating Othmân's courage, the more inflamed it;

(O) So called, we preſume, becauſe ſhe was to have been married to Hûlakû Khân. She ſeems to have reſided at Nice. See Pakhamir, lib. xiii. cap. 25.

for

for he took the fort of Trikokkia, and ravaged the country about Nice and Pithia, to the very sea [w].

State of Asia Minor.

From Dukas we learn the state of Asia Minor, in the thirtieth year of the reign of Andronicus Paleologus. The city of Ephesus, capital of Asia, with the province of Karia, were reduced under the power of Montakhia. Atin, by others called Aydin, had subdued Lydia as far as Smyrna; Sarkhân conquered Maniffa, or Magnesia, and the country round, as far as Pergamus, with all the province of Magedon; Karmion seized Phrygia; Karase, or Karâz, subdued the Greater Phrygia, which extended from the city of Asso to the Hellespont; and Othmân reduced all Bithynia, with part of Paphlagonia [x].

Nicomedia straitened.

Thus far the Greek historians; let us now return to the Turkish. Othmân having spent some time in regulating his domestic affairs, in order to prevent the soldiers from being corrupted with luxury and ease, invested Nikomedia, but being repulsed, after a tedious siege, he raised the siege, and built over against it, on a high mountain, towards Jenghishahri, a strong castle, which he committed to the care of the famous Targan; while he himself retired into winter quarters.

Kutahia taken.

About this time the governors of the Greek provinces, among whom Ornûs, or Honorius, governor of Prusa, was the chief, alarmed at the progress of Othmân's arms, agreed to join their forces at Koyûnhissar, in order to march and surprise him; but Othmân discovering their design by his scouts, on a sudden drew together his troops, and coming upon them unexpectedly, routed them at the first onset. The governor of the city Kostel, and many others, were slain; Ornûs, and the governor of Kutahi, escaped by flight. Othmân pursued, but unable to overtake them, besieged that city, lately recovered from the Turks by the Greeks, and took it without much difficulty. Here he lost his grandson Dogris, who, with some soldiers, was drowned, by the breaking of a timber bridge, over which the army passed, under the walls of the town.

Hejra 717. A.D. 1318.

Prusa besieged.

Most of Bithynia being conquered, Othmân at length, in 717, besieged Prusa (O), the capital of Bithynia; but the city being so strongly fortified and garrisoned, that Othmân despaired of taking it, he built over against it two

[w] Pakh. lib. xiii. cap. 21—29. [x] Dukas, cap. 2.

(O) Now called Bursah, the ancient seat of the kings of Bithynia.

strong castles, and appointed his nephew Artîmûr, and the famous Balanjik, governors, with orders not to molest the inhabitants, who, won by this humanity, retired to those castles as sanctuaries, and submitted to Othmân.

It was Othmân's custom, after the conquest of a certain number of cities, to rest a while, and strengthen his new acquisitions. Having spent some years in this employment, his soldiers, impatient to be in action, petitioned to be led out to new conquests on the Greek empire. Othmân refused the proposal; but told them, that by the Mohammedan law the Christians ought first to be invited to embrace it; and in case of refusal, were to be declared enemies of God and truth; and as such, to be chastised with fire and sword. Accordingly an edict was carried by his chaush to all the Christian governors of Asia Minor, notifying, that they must either embrace Mohammedism, pay tribute, or be subdued by the sword. The first who submitted to this thundering edict, and turned Mahommedan, was Mikhael Kosa, lord of Bilejîk; while those of the cities Loblehijî, Lefka, and Chadarli, became tributary.

Othmân's edict.

About the same time the cities of Mortuni, Goynik, Taraklî, Enghijesi, Kaya Hissar, Hejeji, Ak Hissar, Kara Chîn, Tekkurbanari, and some others, being weakened by the frequent incursions of Chaushi Beg, formerly Erogrul's servant, he at length took them all, and annexed them to the Othmânik dominions. Whilst these conquests were going forward, a nation of Tartars, called Chaudar, coming from the kingdom of Kermian, suddenly invaded Othmân's territories, destroying all with fire and sword to the walls of Karak Hissar. Othmân, who then resided at Jenghishari, assembling his forces, attacked the enemy near Oynash, a town then in ruins, near Karak Hissar, and routed them with great slaughter. The prisoners, on their embracing the faith, were restored to liberty, and settled in the jurisdiction of Karak Hissar.

Or Khân, who excelled all the sons of Othmân in virtue and bravery, subdued the cities of Karachebesh, Alebsui, Pirgos, and Tekîn Hissari. After these atchievements, leaving the command of the army to Kognuzalbem, that general took by storm the castles of Ahari and Tuz Bazâri; then laid waste the territory of Iznigmid, to the very walls of that city. The Greek emperor, being informed of this danger, sent some thousands of well-armed forces to the governor's relief; but Abdo'lrahmân, another of Othmân's commanders, coming on them suddenly in the field

Castles subdued.

of

of Yaylazova, defeated them entirely: they were almoſt all killed, or taken in the purſuit.

Although Othmân, exhauſted by continual expeditions, and old-age, was ſeized with the gout; yet preſerving the vigour of his mind, and deſirous to purſue his good fortune, he ſent Or Khân, with numerous forces, to ſubdue Bithynia, governed by Ornûs, and, if poſſible, to take Pruſa, the metropolis. Ornûs, not ſtrong enough to meet the enemy in the field, ſhut himſelf up in the city, which was very ſtrong, and ſtored with eight years proviſions; ſo that Or Khân, who ſat down before it, met with a gallant reſiſtance: but, after a long and obſtinate ſiege, Mikhael Koſa, who was now Or Khân's chief counſellor, artfully perſuaded Ornûs to ſurrender, upon capitulation; the lives of the inhabitants being ſpared, on paying thirty thouſand gold crowns. Thus Pruſa was delivered up in the year 726, without the effuſion of one drop of Turkiſh blood. *Pruſa taken.*

At the ſame time Or Khân receiving a meſſage from his father to repair to him in haſte, ſet out with a few attendants for Jenghiſhari, where he found him almoſt expiring. Othmân having given him his bleſſing, and appointed him his ſucceſſor, died in the month of Ramadân, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, three months, and ten days [y]. Hejra 726. A.D. 1327. *Othmân dies.*

SECT. III.

Reign of Or Khân.

OR KHAN was ſaluted emperor the tenth of the ſame month and year in which his father died, being then himſelf thirty-ſix years of age. The Turkiſh hiſtorians, followed by prince Cantemir, mention nothing of the tranſactions of Or Khân's reign, before the reduction of Nikomedia, which they place in his ſecond year, that is, in 1328. The Greek hiſtorians relate ſome matters of conſequence which paſſed before that event, but differ much from the Turkiſh in point of time. *Soltân. Or Khân.*

Kantakuzenus informs us, that the young emperor Andronicus having made peace with Tamer Khân, ſon of Giaxe, prince of Phrygia, who uſed to ravage the cities on the Helleſpont; reſolved to attack the Turks, who in- *Emperor Andronicus attac Or Khân.*

[y] Cant. Hiſt. Othm. p. 15—19.

habited Bithynia under tents, in the middle of spring; but they hearing of his design, quickly retired into the mountains. Or Khân, their soltân, understanding that the emperor advanced through Mesothynia, the avenues to which are of difficult access, raised forces, and seized the hills. The Romans being advanced to Pelekana, Or Khân sent down part of his army to attack them. Being repulsed in several rencounters, the soltân ordered his brother Parzale attack on with all his troops, and descended himself to observe the battle: but they were defeated at the first charge; the Romans, with the emperor at their head, pursuing them to the foot of the hills. However, very few men fell in all these attacks; and the emperor seeing the Turks had no mind to come to blows, returned. The Soltân, by the advice of Kaulauze and Katighiale Pakuture, two of Othmân's old commanders, followed them as far as Philokrene, the Romans retreating in great disorder: but there, uniting again, they marched back to Skutarion in the face of the enemy.

After this expedition, the emperor, having visited Scio, went to Phocea, where Sârkân, soltân of Ionia, came and concluded a treaty with him. Aytin, soltân of Karia, being sick, could not visit him, but sent several rich presents. At his return he defeated an army of Turks, transported in seventy ships, who had landed in Europe, and ravaged the country about Trajanople and Vera, killing a great number, and forcing the rest to reimbark. Two years after this event he obliged others to return, who had crossed over in the same manner.

Nikomedia besieged, and taken.

And now Or Khân besieged Nikomedia, a great and populous city, on the gulf of Astakena; but while the emperor was at sea, hastening to its relief, the soltân sent to tell him, he was ready either to lay down his arms, or give him battle. This overture being improved into a peace, Or Khân sent the emperor horses, hounds, carpets, and furs; and Andronicus, in return, presented him with plate, cloth, silks, and a vest, which pleased the soltân most of all. However, the same, or next year, the Turks came and blocked up the avenues to that city, which they found too strong to attack, and prevented the supply of provisions. This hostility brought the emperor over again; but the enemy did not wait his coming [z]. It seems strange that Kantakuzenus, who speaks of these attempts of Or Khân against Nikomedia, and is so exact to

[z] Kantakuzenus, lib. ii. cap. 6, & seqq.

mark

mark all the little invaſions and ravages of the Turks in Europe, ſhould not mention the taking either of that city, or of Nicea, by the ſame prince, which happened not long after. According to the Turkiſh hiſtorians, that ſoltân, in the ſecond year of his reign, over-ran the whole province of Semendura, extending from the city Aytos to Iznigmîd, or Nikomedia, which he then beſieged. On the approach of his army, Kalojanes, the governor, fled by night to the caſtle of Koyûn Hiſſar. Or Khân, being informed hereof by ſome captives, ſent part of his forces to attack it. The place being eaſily taken, and Kalojanes ſlain with an arrow, he ordered his head to be fixed on a pole, and ſhewn to the Nikomedians, who, terrified at the ſight, on obtaining liberty to retire with their effects to Conſtantinople, ſurrendered the city.

In 728, Alibeg took by capitulation the city of Herkia, capital of the province of Semendura. Or Khân, having now ſubdued all the fortified places of Bithynia, excepting Iznîk or Nicea, removed his ſeat from Jenghiſhahri to Pruſa; and, by his brother Alao'ddîn's advice, aboliſhing the Seljûkian money, coined other in his own name, called nikra (P). He ordered the inhabitants of cities to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of villages by different habits; and his ſoldiers, who before went clad like the Chriſtians, to wear a different dreſs. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed a militia of foot, and taught them to make engines for taking towns, which before they were entirely ignorant of. Laſtly, he made his brother Alao'ddîn general of his armies, and ſet him over the public affairs, with the title of Prime Wazîr, or Vizier. Hejra 728. A.D. 1328.

Alterations made in the army.

Next year Or Khân firſt aſſigned the ſoldiers regular pay of a nikra per diem, when upon duty; but when unemployed, they were to live on their own poſſeſſions, free from all taxes. He aboliſhed this infantry, which being taken from the dregs of the peaſants, was addicted to mutiny; and ſubſtituted in its room another, compoſed of ſuch Chriſtian youths as could be procured, who were firſt inſtructed in the Mohammedan faith, and then enrolled. However, any Turkiſh peaſants, who, contented with ſubſiſting themſelves, were willing to be enrolled, were permitted to ſerve among the horſe, under the Sanjâk Begs and Balûk Baſhis, by the name of Muſellem, that is, *free*.

(P) In value about the fourth part of a drachm of ſilver, which is the eighth part of an ounce.

Iznik, or Nicea, taken.

The number of Or Khân's forces being thus greatly increased, he the same year besieged Iznîk; which at two years end, being almost wholly destroyed by the war, famine, and pestilence, surrendered. The inhabitants having only desired leave to retire to Constantinople, the conqueror permitted them also to carry what effects they could with them, which generosity so affected them, that they chose to stay and become tributary. Or Khân, in the year 730, entered the city, and when the Greek women, whose husbands had been killed in the war, bewailed themselves in his presence, he commanded his courtiers and nobles to marry them. The fame of his clemency spreading through the country, not only the inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the siege, returned; but those of other Greek cities and towns flocked thither: so that in the space of one year Iznîk seemed to rival Constantinople itself in the number of inhabitants.

Hejra 730. A.D. 1330.

Hejra 734. A.D. 1334.

In 734, Or Khân took by capitulation the castle of Kemlûk, fortified both by nature and art, after a whole year's siege. It had been often in vain attempted by Othmân. Two years after, he adorned Prusa with a magnificent mesku, or mosque, hospital, and academy, which last was founded in a monastery, and became so famous for professors in the sciences, that many flocked thither out of Arabia and Persia, to pursue their studies under Othmânik masters.

Prusa adorned.

Hejra 735. A.D. 1335.

Or Khân, grown powerful by his conquests from the Greeks, and for the present satisfied with what he had taken from them, next year formed a design to unite to his dominions the other Asiatic provinces, which were subject to some Mussulmân princes, the remains of the Seljûkian empire. He began with Kashîm Beg, a minor, son of Ajilân Beg; whom, under pretence of being his guardian, he placed near his person, and then seized his province. Turson Beg, another young prince, gave up the cities of Aydînjik, Minas, Balîkesra, Bergama, and Ermîd. Ulubâd, Kubleus, and Ebleus, Greek cities in the neighbourhood of the former, were taken by force of arms. Muchalche, to avoid the same extremity, delivered up his possessions to be held of Or Khân in vassalage.

Some Seljûk princes become tributary.

Mean while, Turson Beg having offered to surrender his whole principality to that prince, his brother Hajil Beg refused to give his consent, and took up arms: but, being obliged to quit the field, fled to Bergama. Or Khân, interposing in the quarrel, ordered them to meet under the walls of that city, and divide the possessions. They met, and

and Hajil Beg, under colour of embracing his brother, ſtabbed him, and then fled into the city, intending to ſtand out againſt Or Khân; but the inhabitants, both deteſting the murder, and fearing Or Khân's power, delivered up to him both the city and the prince, who died after two years impriſonment at Bûrſah. The prince of Ulubâd alſo, being falſely accuſed of a revolt, was put to death. Hereupon the whole province of Karaſus ſubmitted to Or Khân; and, in the year 738, Anakhor and Emrûd, two maritime towns of the Greeks, hearing that he was preparing to attack them, ſurrendered, as did ſeveral others, after their example [a]. Hejra 738.

There is about this time a chaſm in the Turkiſh hiſtory of more than twenty years, which luckily the Greek writers furniſh us with materials to fill up. Aytin, before mentioned, being dead, his ſon and ſucceſſor Amîr, ſoltân of Smyrna, Epheſus, and ſome other cities of Ionia, croſſing the Egean ſea, with ſeventy-five veſſels, landed at Samothrace, and then at Porus in Thrace. There the emperor Andronicus met them, but would not venture to fight, the Turks being ten times more numerous; and the enemy not liking the ground where they were, choſe, after a ſhort parley, to retire to their ſhips. A.D. 1332. *Amîr ravages Thrace.*

Andronicus afterwards, ſent an embaſſy to Sarkhân, who commanded about Phocea, and made a treaty with him, by which the ſoltân was obliged to aid him both by ſea and land. The emperor in return was to ſet at liberty his ſon Solymân, with the other Turkiſh youth, detained as hoſtages at Phocea. But the Genoeſe, having ſeized that place, refuſed to deliver them. While the emperor lay before it, he was viſited by the three ſons of Aytîn, ſoltân of Ionia, whoſe names were Theſeus, Amîr, and Sulaymaſas. The ſiege having laſted five months, news were brought that a Genoeſe fleet was coming from Mytilene to relieve the place. Hereupon Sarkhân furniſhed the emperor with twenty-four ſhips, beſides many troops both horſe and foot. Amîr brought thither thirty veſſels, at the requeſt of John Kantakuzenus, the grand domeſtic, who had contracted an intimacy with him long before. But after all theſe preparations no enemy appeared [b]. A.D. 1333. *He and Sarkhân aſſiſt the emperor.*

Towards the end of ſummer, news came that an army of Turkiſh infantry, belonging to Or Khân, had ſailed aboard thirty veſſels towards Conſtantinople. They A.D. 1334. *The Turks defeated on ſeveral occaſions.*

[a] Cant. Hiſt. Othm. p. 24—27. [b] Kantak. lib. ii. cap. 28—30.

landed in two bodies near Ennakosia. The grand domestic cut one of them to pieces, and the emperor destroyed most of the other. After this event, the Romans took eight vessels out of nine, full of Turks, some of the most wealthy in the nation, whose friends paid considerable sums for their ransom[c].

A D. 1341. News arriving, that Sarkhân, soltân of Lydia, and Ghiaxe, prince of Phrygia, were ready to cross over into Thrace, to ravage the country; John Kantakuzenus, the grand domestic, first sent ambassadors to make peace with Or Khân, soltân of Eastern Bithynia, and then prepared to meet the enemy. At the same time that he arrived in the Khersonesus, the Turkish infantry from Pergamus landed there, and were defeated without making resist-

A.D. 1342. ance. Some time after they returned from Asia, to retrieve their honour, but received their disgrace by a second defeat, which obliged Ghiaxe to make peace.

Mean while Sennakherim, with the Roman gallies, surprising the Turks, routed them, and ravaged the province of Sarkhân, took a little sea-port town, and returned with many prisoners[d].

A D. 1344. Our author Kantakuzenus, after he had assumed the title of emperor, in opposition to Paleologus, was reduced to such distress, that he was obliged to fly to the krâl of Servia; while his wife Irene and children were besieged in Didymotikum, the only place of refuge left them. Amîr, son of Aytîn, hearing of this circumstance with all haste gathered forces, and entered the mouth of the Hebrus with three hundred and eighty vessels great and small, on board of which were twenty-nine thousand men. As soon as the Bulgarians, who had long besieged the town, received notice of their arrival, they fled with the greatest precipitation, to the astonishment of the besieged, who knew not the cause till advice came from Amîr of his arrival, to the empress Irene. That princess sent the nobles and the garrison to meet him. On hearing that the emperor was living, he shed tears of joy, and gave thanks to God, who, he said, had inspired him to come to the aid of his dear friend.

Unparalleled friendship of Soltân Amîr to Kantakuzenus.

He then marched at the head of two thousand men on foot to Didymotikum; nor would ride himself, since, as he said, there were not horses enough for his soldiers. After he had staid there awhile, he set out with twenty-one thousand men to seek the emperor; but, pursuant to

[c] Kantak. lib. ii. cap. 34. [d] Idem, lib. iii. cap. 9, & seqq.

the

the requeſt of a letter forged by the inhabitants of Phera, as coming from Kantakuzenus, deſiring him to retire, he, not ſuſpecting the falſity of it, returned to Aſia with his troops[e]. He had ſcarce laid up his ſhips in port, when a genuine letter came from Kantakuzenus, deſiring his aſſiſtance. Amîr hereupon fitted out two hundred ſail; and, though Apokaukus, chief miniſter to Paleologus, ſent to divert his coming, by preſents, he frankly told the ambaſſadors, that he was reſolved to aid Kantakuzenus with all his power, and refuſed the gifts, ſaying, it would be baſe to receive preſents as a friend, and preſently after make war like an enemy.

Accordingly, ſetting ſail from Smyrna, he directed his courſe to Eubea, where underſtanding that Apokaukus had marched from Theſolonika to Berea; and judging the emperor, his friend, muſt be thereabouts, this generous Turk ſailed thither. The emperor, being informed of his arrival, ſet forward from Berea. Upon his approach Amîr went to meet him, with his principal officers: alighting when he approached, he fell proſtrate to ſalute him, and marched on foot, nor would remount but with much importunity. Afterwards they went to the Morea, where Amîr fell ſick. On their return to Didymotikum they met with and defeated the enemy under Franzes. In this rencounter Amîr, who, though not yet recovered, was among the foremoſt in the fight, received three thruſts with a pike, which his cuiraſs warded off. He had mounted his horſe without his armour, but remembering the emperor's advice a few days before, alighted again to put it on, and thus eſcaped being ſlain.

His noble fidelity endangers the ſtate.

The enemy ſtrove in vain by large promiſes to detach Amîr from the intereſt of Kantakuzenus; but what they could not do by the prince they did by his mercenary officers; who, having been ten months from home, were the more eaſily induced, by hope of rewards, to importune their chief to return. This ſtep, to his great regret, he was forced to take, after having ſent an ambaſſador to adviſe the empreſs Anne to make peace; but to no effect. At their audience Apokaukus threw out ſeveral reproachful expreſſions againſt Amîr: among the reſt, that though he was raiſed to the dignity of ſoltân, yet he was ſo mean-ſpirited as to follow Kantakuzenus like a ſlave in a foreign country, and to ſtand as a guard at his tent-door. The ambaſſador, taking occaſion from this inſult offered to the

[e] Kantak. lib. iii. cap. 56, & ſeq.

ſoltân

soltân his master, to recriminate upon his accusers, spoke with such energy and freedom as astonished the audience.

A D. 1345. Amîr at parting promised Kantakuzenus to send him forces in fifteen days, to return in person as soon as possible, and stay with him till he had finished the war. Although his departure gave the emperor much uneasiness, it proved lucky for Amîr himself. A body of troops in twenty-four gallies of Rhodes and other countries of the Latins, landing at Smyrna, took a fort in the port, and burnt some ships, notwithstanding all the care Amîr took to prevent it; and had he not arrived as he did, the city itself might possibly have fallen into their hands [f].

Or Khân sends aid. The emperor Kantakuzenus, being informed that the empress Anne had desired succours of Or Khân, sent also to that prince, entreating, that he would grant him a supply, rather than assist the faction at Constantinople; a proposal to which Or Khân agreed. His territories being so very near, the emperor received succours from him as often as he would; for he commanded in the maritime parts of Paphlagonia, and as far as Phrygia; but that proximity contributed not a little to ruin the lands belonging to the empire; for the Turks often crossed the sea unsent for, and attacked the cities which refused to submit to Kantakuzenus.

Amîr's magnanimity; Amîr, soltân of Ionia, was hindered, by the burning of his ships, to succour Kantakuzenus, as soon as he intended; nor was it easy for him to march by land, on account of a dispute which he had with Sarkân, soltân of Lydia, about their limits; but, being impatient to perform his promise, he offered to give up the country in question for liberty of passage. Sorkân not only readily agreed to Amîr's proposal, but sent with him his son Solymân, to serve the emperor. The soltân then set forward at the head of twenty thousand men; and crossing the Hellespont, joined Kantakuzenus at Didymotikum. From whence marching to Peritheorion against Momitzilus, who had only four thousand men, a fierce battle was fought; but their general at length being killed, all the rest were either slain or taken.

assists in council; The kral of Servia having raised the siege of Pherus on the first report of the march of the Turks to its relief, it was agreed in a council of the principal officers, at which Amîr and Solymân assisted, to go and besiege Constantinople, on a supposition that they would find no difficulty in reducing the place, considering the confusion things

[f] Kantak. cap. 63. 66. 68.

were

were in by the death of Apokaukus, who was ſlain in a tumult at the public priſon; but when they approached the city, they found that his executioners had been maſſacred by the mob, and that all things were again quiet.

returns to Smyrna;

In their return to Macedonia Solymân was attacked at Apamea with a violent fever. Thoſe who attended him gave him cold remedies, which chilled the blood, and brought on faintings. Amîr, who diſcovered the cauſe of thoſe dangerous ſymptoms, ordered him to take treacle and old wine, which renewed the fever; but the others applying their firſt medicines, froze his blood to ſuch a degree that he died immediately. Thoſe who had the care of Solymân accuſed Amîr of being the cauſe of his death, and that he had given him poiſon in his wine. Amîr apprehending that Sarkân might give credit to thoſe calumnies, and take up arms againſt him, reſolved to return before the report ſhould gain ground. And indeed he found it no eaſy matter to clear himſelf from the charge in the eyes of Sarkân, although he was entirely innocent of the matter [g].

A.D. 1346.

ſlays a patriarch.

Some time after he arrived at Smyrna, twelve gallies put in there, commanded by one Martin, with a patriarch of Conſtantinople on board, ſent by the pope. This preſumptuous prelate would needs enter the cathedral of Smyrna, and ordered the army to follow him; contrary to the advice of all the ſea-officers, who repreſented the danger and raſhneſs of ſuch a proceeding. Accordingly, while he was celebrating maſs, Amîr came with his army, and ſlew him at the altar, with Martin and ſome others, whom he found in the church; for as ſoon as the Italians ſaw the Turks approach, they fled to the citadel. At the ſame time thirty-two noble Genoeſe, having equipped ſome gallies at their own expence, went and took Khio.

The emperor's daughter granted in marriage to Or Khân.

In the courſe of the ſame year Or Khân ſent to the emperor Kantakuzenus, to demand one of his daughters in marriage; offering in that caſe to ſerve him againſt all his enemies, not as his friend and ally, but as his ſon and ſubject. On this occaſion, he conſulted his principal officers of the army, who all adviſed him to embrace the propoſal. He ſent likewiſe to deſire the advice of Amîr; who made anſwer, that the friendſhip and alliance of that prince would be very uſeful to the empire; that although he had no occaſion for his ſuccours againſt the domeſtic enemy, which was already almoſt humbled, yet they

g Kantak. cap. 81. 86. 89.

would

would be of service against the foreign enemies, who had done him many injuries; that he was assured Or Khân had not a more sincere and strong desire than himself to serve the emperor; but was sensible he had a better opportunity of doing it, because his territories lay opposite to Thrace. He added, that the emperor ought not to make any difficulty in contracting this alliance, since many of his predecessors had not disdained, for the advantage of their affairs, to give their daughters to Scythians and other strangers."

The emperor admired the modesty of Amîr, in acknowleging that the succours of Or Khân would be more advantageous to him than his own; and, following his advice, sent an embassy to that prince, to let him know, that he would grant his request; and to desire him to send troops to conduct his daughter. Or Khân forthwith dispatched thirty ships, with a great number of cavalry, and the chief men of his nation. Kantakuzenus, repairing with his army to Silivrea, ordered a throne to be erected without the town, and a tent near it, where the empress passed with her daughters. Next day Theodora, the bride, mounted the throne, to be viewed by the people, according to a custom observed by the emperors when they married their daughters to foreign princes. The empress with the rest remained in the tent, and the emperor appeared alone on horseback. The silk curtains, adorned with gold, which enclosed the throne, being drawn, the princess appeared sitting, surrounded with torches, held by eunuchs on their knees. This ceremony was accompanied with music, and verses made by the best poets in praise of the bride. The emperor having feasted his army, and the most considerable persons among the Turks, for several days, sent her to her husband, who received her with transports of joy.

Amîr's passion to serve his friend.

The empress Anne, finding that she had nothing to expect on the side of Or Khân, sent to Sarkân, soltân of Lydia, who readily assisted her with troops. Amîr, vexed to see forces march against the emperor his friend, and resolving to serve him the best he could, ordered two thousand of his own troops to join Sarkân's, as is usual in the Turkish expeditions; but gave their commanders private orders to go over to Kantakuzenus, in case Sarkân's soldiers could not be gained to his interest. These latter stood wavering till they saw the emperor ready to give them battle, and then sent to offer him their service; but desired first, that they might go to Constantinople, and receive

ceive the money which the empreſs Anne had promiſed their maſter. They did ſo; and, at their return, the emperor having no farther occaſion for them, diſmiſſed them; but as they could not leave the country without committing ravages, according to cuſtom, they made an incurſion into Bulgaria, and then loaden with ſpoils returned home [h].

Soon after this period, peace being made between the two parties, and Kantakuzenus acknowleged emperor jointly with John Paleologus, then but fifteen years of age, Or Khân with all his family came to Skutarion (Q), to felicitate him on that occaſion. The emperor croſſed over to meet him there, where they feaſted for ſeveral days, and took the diverſion of hunting. The emperor and Or Khân ſat at the ſame table, and the four ſons which the ſoltân had by his former wives at another. The principal Romans and Turks ſat on carpets. When theſe diverſions were over, Or Khân remained aboard his ſhips; and Theodora, with her four brothers-in-law, went with the emperor her father to Conſtantinople; where having ſtaid three days, they returned to Bithynia. A.D. 1350. *Or Khân viſits Kantakuzenus;*

It was not long after this interview, that the krâl of Servia having invaded the empire, Kantakuzenus ſent to deſire ſuccours of Or Khân, his ſon-in-law; who immediately ſent him ten thouſand men, commanded by his four ſons and by Solymân. The emperor joined with them his ſon Mathew, with a ſmall body of Romans, and forbad them to commit any diſorder in the territories of the empire; but when they advanced to Mygdonia, and underſtood that the circumjacent country belonged to the krâl, they began to ravage it, in ſpite of all their commanders could do. They ſlew a great number of the inhabitants, and took a multitude of priſoners; then returned home by way of the Helleſpont, loaden with booty. *ſends him aid.*

Some time after, two thouſand Turks having paſſed the Helleſpont, and plundered Thrace, were met, returning with their booty, by the emperor, who cut to pieces moſt of one party, with their leader, Kara Mahemet; the reſt, commanded by Maratuman, ſurrendered, and were ſent home. Theſe were Turks, who, having ſerved in the late wars between the two emperors, were acquainted with the country. At the ſame time Mathew, the emperor's eldeſt A.D. 1352. *Invading Turks ſlain.*

[h] Kantak. lib. iii. cap. 95, & ſeq.

(Q) Commonly called Skutari, on the Boſphorus, oppoſite to Conſtantinople.

ſon,

son, who was governor of the cities of Khalcidica in Macedonia, defeated another body of Turks who had landed in that part of the country, not one escaping either the sword or captivity.

A.D.1353. Thessalonica being besieged by the krâl of Servia, Kantakuzenus demanded succour of Or Khân, who sent him twenty thousand men, under his son Solymân; but this prince being come as far as Anaktaropolis in Thrace, he received a letter from his father to return as secretly as possible; because he stood in need of his troops, to defend himself against the most powerful princes his neighbours, who had attacked him. Notwithstanding Or Khân was in such haste, Solymân staid to plunder Bulgaria before he went [1].

Or Khân assists him, and his enemies.

A.D.1354. In the war begun between the Venetians and Genoese, about a difference which happened in the Tanais between a Tatar and a Venetian, the emperor declared war against the Genoese, then inhabiting Galata, the suburbs of Constantinople; and Or Khân assisted the Genoese, not only on account of the money he was to have, but also because he was offended that the Venetians should come into his neighbourhood with a numerous fleet, without paying him the least compliment. Accordingly he sent an army of both horse and foot, who encamped on the continent opposite to Constantinople, and were of great service to the Genoese.

A.D.1355. In the war which broke out soon after, between the two emperors Kantakuzenus and his son-in-law Paleologus, Or Khân sent some troops to the assistance of the former; with which he went and relieved Adrianople, where the young emperor besieged his son Mathew. Paleologus having obtained forces from the Servians and Bulgarians, Kantakuzenus applied again to his son-in-law Or Khân, who sent ten thousand horse, under the command of his eldest son Solymân. This prince, crossing the Hellespont, encamped next day on the Hebrus, where the Servians and Bulgarians lay, without either party knowing they were so near each other. The day after, in their march they met the enemy, who were quickly defeated, and all slain or taken, except their commander and a few followers. The Turks went to Adrianople to salute Kantakuzenus. While they were in that neighbourhood, Paleologus sent a letter, with presents, to draw Solymân over to his interest. Solymân received the ambassadors civilly, and re-

Sends more aid under Solymân.

[1] Kantak. lib. iv. cap. 4. 10. 16.

fused

fuſed their maſter's preſents; but promiſed not to act againſt him. Nevertheleſs he ſent the letter to Kantakuzenus, as it were to let him ſee the incivility of the writer, who had not given him the title of emperor; then he returned to Aſia with his troops [k].

Places in Thrace ſeized by the Turks,

The Turks, in their late expeditions to ſerve Kantakuzenus, having ſeized on ſeveral places in Thrace, and among the reſt the fort of Zimpe, that emperor was exceedingly offended; and, not having forces ſufficient to drive them out, wrote to Or Khân, his ſon-in-law, deſiring him to quit poſſeſſion of what was ſo unjuſtly acquired, that their friendſhip might not be diſturbed. However, Solymân refuſing to deliver Zimpe without a conſideration, Kantakuzenus ſent him ten thouſand crowns in gold. At this time an earthquake overturned almoſt all the maritime cities of Thrace, and eſpecially Kallipolis, the moſt famous city of that country, then in the hands of the Turks; who, on this occaſion, made captives of great numbers of thoſe Romans who had eſcaped the other calamity.

Solymân, who was then at Pega, a city beyond the Helleſpont, being informed of the havock which that accident had made, forgot the treaty which he had ſo lately concluded with Kantakuzenus; and, croſſing into Thrace, repaired the cities, and peopled them with new inhabitants. He took particular care to rebuild Kallipolis, filling it with his own ſubjects. After which meaſures, he made incurſions into Bulgaria, ravaged the country, and carried off the inhabitants. The emperor had no other remedy left, but to intreat Or Khân to order his ſon to give up the towns which he had ſeized, without any colour, during the peace; repreſenting it as the higheſt injuſtice in him, to keep the fort of Zimpe after receiving the price of it. Solymân alleged, that he had not taken them by force of arms; but found them deſerted, and therefore reſolved to keep them. Or Khân, though an accomplice in the affair, yet willing to preſerve the favour of the emperor, his father-in-law, deſired a little time to diſpoſe his ſon to a compliance. In ſhort, upon an offer of forty thouſand crowns, Solymân conſented to reſtore them. Kantakuzenus, on this occaſion, croſſed the ſea to Nikomedia, to confer with Or Khân; but, the latter being ill, could not then ſettle matters.

demanded of Solymân.

[k] Kantak. lib. iv. cap. 26. 31, & ſeqq.

Solymân

Promise to restore them.

Solymân afterwards, marched at the head of a powerful army again the Galates of Eastern Scythia; and took, during the summer, two of their most famous cities, Ancyra and Kratea. At his return, in autumn, he sent, jointly with his father, an embassy to acquaint Kantakuzenus, that he was ready to restore the cities of Thrace, whenever he was pleased to receive them. Accordingly a day was appointed for that purpose; but it does not appear, that the places were restored, although it is said the peace was concluded.

Presently after, a peace taking place between the two emperors, Kantakuzenus and Paleologus, the former renounced the world, and went into a monastery; after having agreed with Paleologus, that his son Mathew should enjoy that part of the empire which had been assigned him, with the title of emperor; but the two young emperors did not long continue in amity [1].

Or Khân dupes Paleologus and assists Mathew.

In the mean time, a pirate-ship of Old Phocea, where Kalothetes commanded, sailing into the gulf of Astakena, to carry off people, happened to take Khalil, the son of Or Khân; whom they brought back to Phocea. Or Khân, not being able to attack the place by sea, for want of ships, nor by land, for want of troops sufficient to open a way thither through the country, applied to Paleologus; who promised to procure the release of Khalil, provided he forebore any longer to assist Mathew with forces.

Or Khan agreeing to this alternative, Paleologus sent immediately to Kalothetes, thinking that he would give up Khalil at the first demand: but, finding that he could prevail neither by promises nor threats, was forced to buy his deliverance at the rate of one hundred thousand crowns of gold, with the dignity of panhypersebaste into the bargain.

Mathew, being informed, that the governor of Pherus was disposed to deliver up to him that important place, with the widow of the kral of Servia, and the treasure she had in possession, promised to be there a month after. In the mean time he sent for a reinforcement to his brother-in-law Or Khân, who being then at Avido or Abidos, let him have five thousand Turks; but these being bent more on plundering than fighting, behaved in so disorderly and cowardly a manner, that they not only ruined

[1] Kantak. cap. 38, & seqq.

the

the design for which he had demanded them, but, flying first from a party of their own troops whom they took for Servians, and afterwards from the Servians themselves, Mathew, who was thus deserted by them, was taken prisoner near Philippi; and, to obtain his liberty, was obliged to lay aside the title of emperor [m].

Solymân invades Thrace.

Having thus, from the Greek historians, supplied the vacancy found in the Turkish history, down to the year 1355, we shall return to the Turkish writers; by whom we are told, that Or Khân's ambition encreasing with his successes, he sent his son Solymân to attempt a passage into Europe; joining with him his three most famous captains, Ache Beg, Gâzi Fazil, and Ornus Beg. Other writers name them Gâzi Farîl, Yakûbje Beg, and Mikhal Beg. Solymân, taking with him eighty select men, under pretence of hunting, entered the country of Aydinjik, and surveyed the coast: but, as the Greek emperor had made it death for any person to pass either into or out of Asia, even in a boat, he, by the help of two rafts laid upon bladders tied together by the necks, crossed over with his company to the castle of Hamni, in Europe. On their landing, they seized a peasant; who, by a passage under ground, brought them into the town by night. Solymân, treating the inhabitants gently, prevailed on them to conduct the ships, which lay in the harbours of Balayr and Akchilimân, into Asia; from whence, in a few hours, they carried back three thousand Turks, with whom next day he surprised the castle of Hyasobonia; which he committed to the care of Ache Beg; from whom that territory bears the name of Acheovasi.

Takes Gallipoli.

Kallakonias, governor of Galibolij, or Kallipolis, assembling what force he could in haste, advanced to attack Solymân; but being inferior to the enemy, both in number and courage, they were obliged, after a long dispute, to retreat into the city, which they bravely defended for a long time; till being weakened by frequent assaults, and destitute of provisions, they at length, in the year 760, delivered up, by capitulation, Kallipolis, with the whole province of Khayreboli, or Karipolis. When the emperor heard of the taking of that city, which was esteemed not only the key of Constantinople, but the bulwark of Europe, he is reported to have said, that the Turks had only taken a hog-stye and a pottle of wine.

Hejra 760. A.D. 1359.

[m] Kantak. lib. iv. cap. 44, & seq.

Killed by a fall. Next year, Soltân Or Khan sent a second army into Europe, under the conduct of his second son Morâd; who, while Solymân subdued Malgara and Ibsalam, took the castle of Epibatos, about ten hours from Constantinople. He then laid siege to Chorlu, a strong city between that capital and Adrianople: before which he was several times repulsed, and lost a great number of men; but, being over-powered with numbers, the inhabitants were at length all slain, and the town was quite demolished. The people of Pirgos, between Chorlu and Adrianople, intimidated by this severity, abandoned the place to Morâd; who presently returned to Asia, leaving Solymân. Not long after, as this prince was exercising his troops, by darting their spears and shooting their arrows, his unruly horse ran away with him; and, breaking his leg against a tree, he fell to the ground with such violence that he instantly died.

Death of Or Khan. The death of his beloved son struck Or Khân to the heart; yet, still intent on conquests, he sent Ache Beg, with an army, to besiege Dydimothykon. This general, approaching the city before he was expected, accidentally seized the governor, who was taking a walk. The governor, who was of the imperial race, to gain his liberty, surrendered the city; which, however, Or Khân restored, to oblige the Grecian prince, his friend; but an illness, contracted by the death of his son, increasing, he died two months after; having lived seventy years, and reigned thirty-five, according to Saadi's computation. He was buried in the monastery of Prusa, or Bursah, and left the kingdom to his son Morâd.

His character. The Turks greatly extol this Soltân's clemency, valour, and justice, as well as his liberality to the poor. They say, he daily conversed with the learned, and would undertake nothing of moment without their advice: that he was the first of their monarchs who founded Meskus, Jami Madraseh, or schools, and Imarets, or hospitals: that he had a red face, blue eyes, yellowish hair, and was of a middle stature, though corpulent, appears from his picture in the sarây, or seraglio [n].

[n] Cant. Hist. Othm. p. 28, & seqq.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Reign of Morâd Khân I.

MORAD, or Amrat, aſcended the throne in the forty-firſt year of his age, and aſſumed the title of Khoda Vendikar, or *God's Labourer*, to ſhew his religious diſpoſition. In the firſt year of his reign, he took the ſtrong city of Angûri, or Ancyra, with ſeveral caſtles in thoſe parts. He afterwards, ſent his prime wazîr, Atabeki Shahîn Lala, a brave and wiſe general, with ſome light troops, to croſs the Straits of Kallipolis, and beſiege Adrianople, while he followed with a more powerful army: but, hearing on the way that his wazîr had taken the city at the firſt aſſault, he returned to Pruſa, and ordered him to march into the bowels of Thrace; appointing Haji Ornûs Beg to be beglerbeg of Rûm Êli, or his European conqueſts. The wazîr executed his orders ſo ſpeedily, that Felibe or Philippi, Eſki, Zaghena, and other neighbouring places, fell into his hands. *Soltân Morad I.* *Adrianople taken.*

Next year, Morâd built a ſpacious Jami at Adrianople, ſtill called Morâdîyeh, or Morâd's temple, on this occaſion. One time going before the mufti, who then diſcharged the office of judge, to give in his evidence, he was rejected, as not worthy of credit. The ſoltân wondering at this ſtrange proceeding, and aſking the reaſon, the mufti anſwered, that he reckoned his teſtimony true and unexceptionable, as being imperial; but of no validity in judicial matters, becauſe he never joined in common prayers with the reſt of the Muſulmans. Morâd, upon this reprimand, reformed his conduct, and built the Jami, as an atonement for his former miſconduct. Hejra 762. A.D 1361.

In 763, Ornûs, Begler Beg of Rûm Êli, took Ipſala and Malgara, ravaged the country, and carried off an infinite number of captives. From hence, Kara Halil Paſha, the prime wazîr, took occaſion to ſay merrily, that although all ſpoils were ſaid to belong to the emperor, yet if the number of captives were ever ſo great, they were all engroſſed by private perſons; ſo that none fell to his majeſty's ſhare: he therefore thought it reaſonable, that ſome of the ſoltân's Agavat ſhould be appointed at the Straits of Kallipolis to ſeize every fifth captive; of whom the moſt perſonable and robuſt might ſerve at court, and in the army. Morâd liking the propoſal, an edict was publiſhed for that purpoſe; and, a great number of cap- Hejra 763. A.D 1362. *Order of Janizaries inſtituted.*

tives being brought together, the soltân sent his new army to Haji Bektâsh, a religious Turk, famous for his miracles and prophecies, desiring him to give them a banner, pray for their success, and appoint them a name. The sheykh, putting the sleeve of his gown on one of their heads, said, "let them be called Yenghicheri: let their countenance be ever bright, their hand victorious, and their sword keen: let their spear always hang over the heads of their enemy; and wherever they go, may they return with a white face." From this time, those soldiers retained that name, and covering for the head.

Hejra 766. A.D. 1365. By means of this new infantry, in 766, Batha, in Asia, and, in Europe, Zagara and Gumûrjina, were reduced.

Farther acquisitions.

Next year, Andronicus Paleologus, the Greek emperor, desired Morâd's aid against the king of Bulgaria. The Soltân, pursuant to his request, sent an army into Europe, under Lala Shahîn, who, coming upon the enemy unexpectedly, in a place called Zermen, easily put them to flight. The same year, he ordered to be built at Prusa, in the street Kapluje, a large jami, *temple*; a madrasch, or *college*; and an imaret, or *hospital*.

Morâd, to divide, and gain over to his interest the other princes of Asia Minor, in 783 married his son Bay Yezîd or Bajezet to a daughter of Ghermian Ogli (O); with whom he received as a portion Kutahia, Egrigoz, and Taushanlîk. By his address, Hamid Ogli offered to hold in fee of the Othmân empire the cities of Elvadz, Enishahr, Arsherih, Karagais, and Seydishahri: which example others followed.

Hejra 784. A.D. 1382. The affairs of Asia being thus settled, next year Morâd passed the Straits of Kallipolis with a great army, and besieged the strong castle of Bolina: but, meeting with great opposition, is said to have implored the assistance of heaven. The same night part of the wall falling down, the Othmâns entered by the breach, and put all the garrison to the sword. A great number of red hats being found in the magazine, Morâd distributed them among his soldiers, and ordered others of the same colour to be made for the rest of his army. The same year, Iskanderîa, Darme, and the strong town of Kavalla, with almost all Arnaud or Albania were subdued: as in the year 788, were the towns of Zikhne, Karaferia, and Monastîr.

Mohammedan miracle.

(O) Prince of Phrygia Major, one of the Persian governors, who revolted at the time of Jenghîz Khân's expedition. Cantemir.

The

The neighbouring ſtates being alarmed at the great increaſe of the Othmân power under this ſoltân, a league was formed againſt it by the Walakhians, Hungarians, Dalmatians, and Triballians, with thoſe of Arnaud not yet ſubdued, under the conduct of Lazarus, prince of Servia. Morâd having prepared to meet this ſtorm, attacked the Chriſtian army in the plain of Koſſova, in Servia, where a fierce and doubtful battle was fought; but at length the confederates were put to flight, Lazarus himſelf was taken, his nobles were ſlain, and the run-aways long purſued by light-horſe. The ſoltân, walking over the field of battle, and viewing the dead, told the wazîr, he thought it ſtrange, that among the enemy's ſlain he ſaw none but beardleſs youths: continuing his diſcourſe, "It is ſtill more ſtrange (ſaid he) how I ſhould be deceived by a viſion laſt night in my ſleep; for methought I ſaw myſelf ſlain by the hand of an enemy." At that inſtant, a Chriſtian ſoldier, who concealed himſelf among the dead, perceiving it to be the ſoltân by his talk, animated by thoughts of revenging his country, ſuddenly ſtarted up, and plunged a dagger in his belly. The aſſaſſin was inſtantly cut in pieces. Morâd dying within two hours, his body was carried by the wazîr and baſhas to the royal tent, and embalmed. After this accident, the great men aſſembling about the choice of a new emperor, Ilderîm Bay Yezîd, his eldeſt ſon, was declared ſoltân.

Hejra 721. A.D. 1389.

Morâd invades Servia: is ſlain

The Turks greatly extol Morâd as a mirror of juſtice, a prince of invincible fortitude of mind, very regular in his devotions, and a lover of the learned. He is alſo praiſed for his remarkable abſtinence, and contempt of pomp, ſo that he was never ſeen clothed in any thing but ſof (S). He lived ſeventy-one years, and reigned thirty °.

His character.

We find but little relating to this ſoltân in the Greek writers, and that delivered without order. The firſt enterprize of Morâd, or Amurat, according to Khalkondylas, was againſt the Triballians, in which he defeated Suſman, Deſpot of Servia, and took the very opulent city

° Cant. Hiſt. Othm. p. 36—45.

(S) Sof, or ſûf, a fine light cloth made of wool. It is chiefly worn by eccleſiaſtics, who are forbidden by their law the uſe of ſilk. The perſon who wears a garment of ſof is called ſofi. And hence Shâh Iſmael of Perſia was called Sofi Iſmael, his father having been a religious perſon.

of Pherres. The same authors say, that Amurat began this war for love of Susman's beautiful daughter, whom by these means he hoped to obtain. He afterwards obliged Dragas, son of Zarkhus, lord of Masia and Bogdân, or Pogdân, who commanded the country about Mount Rhodope, to become tributary, and to attend him in his wars. He subdued other princes, who were Triballians, Kroats, or Albanians.

Defeats the Triballians.

Rebellion of Sauz and Andronicus.

A rebellion rising in Asia, he passed over, and quelled it. Upon this occasion he received advice, that his eldest son Sauz had joined in a conspiracy with Andronicus, eldest son of John Paleologus, to dethrone their fathers, and make perpetual peace. Morâd hastened back to Europe, and complained to the emperor, that Andronicus had corrupted his son. Then marching with his forces to Apikridium, the place where the princes were encamped, not far from Constantinople, he went to listen at their tent; and having heard their discourse, called to the officers, who were about them, by their names, and by an artful speech drew part of them over. The rest fled with the princes to Didymotikum, where Amurat followed; and seizing Sauz, caused his eyes to be put out. Andronicus was served in the same manner by his father; who durst not refuse to do what Amurat required. Boiling hot vinegar was made use of on that occasion.

Attempt of Manuel.

After this transaction, Manuel, the emperor's second son, who had the government of Thessolonika, formed a design to seize the city of Pherres; which design Amurat hearing of, sent Kharatin Bassha to take his city, and bring the youth bound into his presence. Manuel, unable to resist, fled; but his father not daring to receive him, he took a resolution to go and ask pardon of the soltân himself; who, pleased with his behaviour, received him with embraces, and sent him back loaded with presents to Constantinople.

The emperor Paleologus arrested in Italy.

John Paleologus, to put a stop to the growing power of the Turks, passed into Italy, and applied to the Venetians for aid; but met with nothing but fair words. Having borrowed a large sum there, he visited, to as little purpose, the other Italian princes, and then repaired to France, whose king, by reason of the intestine broils, was in no condition to assist him. At his return to Venice, he was arrested for the money he had taken up when he resided in that city. Hereupon he sent to his son Andronicus, whom he had left regent, to raise the sum out of the revenues of the clergy, and by other means. Andronicus,

not

not caring to part with his authority, ſent word, that the people were averſe to the propoſal; but Manuel raiſing all the money he poſſibly could, in haſte ſet ſail for Italy, with deſign to remain in his father's ſtead, in caſe that ſum was not ſufficient. This act of filial virtue procured him his father's love, and his brother's hatred.

Amurat, having diſcovered that Manuel was forming deſigns againſt him, Kharatin deprived him of his city and government; and as the emperor had forbidden him to retire within his territories, he fled to Leſbos; whence being ordered to depart, he paſſed by ſea to Troas, and thence by poſt to Pruſa.

The ſoltân delayed no longer to march againſt the Triballians, and their prince Eleazer, or Lazarus, who was joined by the Hungarians. He gave one daughter to Suſman, lord of the Odryſians, or Moldavians. The other to Bulkus, ſon of Brankas, ſon of Plandikas, who held Kaſtoria, and that part of Macedonia called Okhida, formerly belonging to Nikholas, ſon of Zuppan. Thus ſtrengthened, he thought himſelf ſure of victory. He had alſo, after the death of Ungleſes and Khrates, conquered Piſtrinum and Niſtra, and extended his borders as far as the river Save. He was encamped in the plain of Koſoba, where Amurat attacked him, and gained the victory, but loſt his life. *Amurat's death.*

His death is variouſly reported: the Turks ſay, that, as he followed Eleazer, who fled, a Triballian foot-ſoldier met and ran him through the body with a pike. The Greeks pretend, that before the battle, one Milo, having propoſed to Eleazer to kill Amurat, rode up armed to the firſt ranks of the Turks, juſt going to give the charge, and deſiring to ſpeak with the ſoltân, who was in the midſt of the Janiſſaries, ran him through the body, and was then cut in pieces [p].

The account which Dukas gives of theſe affairs is as follows: when Or Khân died, John Paleologus, who after his return from Italy had obliged Kantakuzenus to retire into a monaſtery, was twenty-five years of age. He had three ſons, Andronicus, Manuel, and Theodorus. Andronicus ſurpaſſed all thoſe of his time for ſtature, ſtrength, and majeſty of perſon. Amurat had the ſame number, Yakub, Kuntuz, and Bajazet. Andronicus and Kuntuz, who were of the ſame age, one day conſpired againſt their fathers; which conſpiracy coming to the knowlege of A.D. 1389. *Andronicus blinded.*

[p] Khalkondylas, lib. i. cap. 8—13.

Amurat, he ordered his son's eyes to be put out, and threatened to declare war against Paleologus, if he did not do the same justice upon his. The emperor, through fear, or some other weakness, did more than was required of him; for he caused the eyes, not only of Andronicus, but of his infant son, to be put out, and then imprisoned him, with his wife, in the tower of Anema. From thence they escaped two years after, by means of the Genoese of Galata; who, glad of the occasion, assisted him with forces against his father. After a few days Andronicus was admitted on certain conditions into the city; but, contrary to his oath, he confined his father and brothers in the same prison.

Dethrones his father, and restores him.

They having in their turn made their escape to Skutari, Andronicus, unwilling to involve the sinking state in a civil war, resigned the throne to his father, and obtained his pardon: he still saw with one eye, and his son with both. The emperor gave to Andronicus Selivrea, Dancion, Heraklea, Rodesto, and Panide; in the first of which he resided: then he ordered Manuel to be crowned, and proclaimed emperor.

To return to Amurat. This prince, having reduced most of the cities of Thrace, besieged Adrianople, which he took, with all Thessaly, except Thessalonika. When he had conquered almost all the Roman dominions, he turned his arms against the Servians, ruined many of their towns, and carried off a multitude of prisoners. Hereupon Lazarus, son of Stephen, their Krâl, raising all his forces, fought a battle, in which great numbers fell on both sides. During the engagement, a young Servian ran towards the Turkish army, and being seized, pretended he came to put the soltân in a way how to gain the victory. Amurat making a sign with his hand to advance, he drew near; and, plunging his dagger in that prince's breast, was immediately cut in pieces. The Turks, though astonished at the accident, yet did not lose their discretion. They erected his tent in the middle of the army, put him in it, and renewed the fight with extreme fury. The Servians, who knew nothing of what had happened, soon gave way; and the Krâl being taken, with the chief men of the nation, were carried to the tent, and sacrificed at the feet of the expiring Amurat. All this was done without either of the two wings of their army knowing any thing of the matter. The right was commanded by Yakûb the elder, and the left by Bajazet the younger brother [q].

Amurat slain by a Servian.

q Dukas, cap. 3. & 12.

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We have chosen to give separate extracts from these two authors, that our readers may the better judge of their authenticity.

SECT. V.

The Reign of Ilderim Bâ-yezîd.

YAKUB CHELEBI, the younger brother of Bâ-yezîd, not being pleased with his advancement to the throne, attempted to raise a sedition; but the project being seasonably discovered, he was, by the command of the soltân, and consent of the chief men, strangled with a bow-string: Lazarus also, prince of Servia, being considered as the occasion of Morâd's death, was, by Bâyezîd's order, brought before him, and beheaded. After this execution, dismissing the army, he sent his father's body to be buried at Prusa, or Bûrsah, in the royal Jâmi; and, following himself, erected to his memory a most elegant marble kubbeh, or *monument*. *Soltân Bâ-yezid.*

Next year, pursuing his father's conquests, he took in Europe, Karatova and Isseib; and, in Asia, added Aydîn, Sari Khân, Kars, and Montesha, to his dominions. A dispute arising between him and his father-in-law Gherham Ogli, he vanquished, and, banishing him to Ipsala, seized his kingdom. The prince of Karamania, who had married the soltân's sister, would have shared the same fate, had he not resolved on the war against Moldavia; intending to revenge in person the defeat, which his army, under Surasker Solymân Bashâ, had received two years before at Hierasus. With this view, hasting back to Europe, he layed a bridge over the Danube, ravaged all Moldavia, and encamped at Razhoe, a village on the river Siretus. Soon after Istefan, or Stephen, prince of that country, arriving with his army, fought a fierce battle, but was overthrown. On this he fled to Nemz, where, with a strong garrison, he had left his mother, who from the walls denied him entrance, and bid him return and retrieve his honour: saying, she would rather see him perish by the hand of an enemy, then branded with the infamy of being saved by a woman. Istefan, stung with his mother's reproaches, departed the city; and by a trumpet, whom he met, rallied twelve thousand Moldavians, who had escaped the sword. With these, falling *Seljûk princes reduced: defeats the Moldavians, overthrown by them.*

falling on the enemy, dispersed over the field, and intent on spoil, he put them to flight. Then at Vashlui, twenty miles from Jassi, capital of Moldavia, routed the Turkish army, took the royal tents, and obliged the soltân, who was before the terror of the world, to fly with a few attendants to Adrianople.

Karamân Ogli slain.

Mean while, Karaman Ogli hearing of this great overthrow, and believing he had now a fair opportunity of crushing his power, besieged Kutahia, and ravaged the Othmân dominions in Asia. Bâ-yezîd, more enraged than discouraged, with his usual speed raised an army in Europe, and before his arrival in Asia was suspected, met the enemy divided into many parties, and defeated them at the first onset. Karamân Ogli, flying with his sons to Akjami, was taken by the pursuers; and being brought before the soltân, was, by his orders, beheaded, and his two sons condemned to perpetual imprisonment at Prusa. Thus all Karamania fell under the victor's power.

Farther conquests.

In Europe, he took Nigheboli, Silistra, and Uruschîk, towns on the Danube; and next year, in Asia, reduced Amasia, Tokâd, Nikfar, Samsun, and Janîk; which had been subject to Soltân Burhan Elledin.

Kastamoni. Thessalonika.

After this expedition, he returned to Europe. But had no sooner passed the Straits of Kallipolis, than he was informed, that Kutrum Bâ-yezîd, prince of Kastamoni, taking advantage of his absence, laid waste his provinces in Asia Minor. The soltân, leaving Europe to his generals, with the greater part of his army repassed the straits; but before he arrived, Kutrum was dead, and his son Isfindar Beg sent ambassadors to beg pardon for his father's offence, and promised submission. Bâ-yezîd received him into favour, and placing garrisons in the cities of Kastamoni, Tarakli Borli, and Othmanjîk, hasted back to Europe, and in the same campaign took Selanîk, or Thessalonika.

Christian princes defeated.

This expedition being finished, he returned to Prusa; where news were presently brought, that Sigismond, king of Hungary, in conjuction with other Christian princes, having raised an army of a hundred thousand men, had entered the borders of the Turkish empire and laid siege to Nikopolis. Bâ-yezîd in haste assembled his forces, not exceeding sixty thousand men; and passing into Europe, attacked the confederates with such fury, that they were defeated at the first charge with great slaughter. All Sigismond's partners in this expedition were taken or slain, himself only escaping first to Constantinople, and thence

thence by water into his own territories. There were found in his camp many warlike engines and a large treasure, with which the ſoltân built both at Adrianople and at Pruſa, a jami, with a noble madreſeh and a daruſh-ſhîfa, or *hoſpital for the ſick*.

Ba-yezîd, having now nothing to fear from the weſtern princes, turned all his forces againſt Thrace; where he took a caſtle ſituate on the Euxine ſea, about ſixty miles from Conſtantinople; and, to deprive the Europeans of the means of paſſing into Aſia, built a new city in a place called Bogâz Keſen. This he very ſtrongly fortified, and named Guzelhiſſar, or *the beautiful caſtle*. The ſame year he encamped with a great army under the walls of Conſtantinople without oppoſition: but, when preparations were made for an aſſault, the prime wazîr diſſuaded him from the ſiege, repreſenting the danger of a revolt in the new conquered cities, not yet ſettled, and of alarming the Chriſtian princes into a confederacy. On theſe conſiderations, although he did not deſpair of taking the city, yet he adviſed that the ſiege ſhould be deferred, leſt, by graſping too much, all ſhould be loſt; and that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Iſtambol Tekkuri (T), upon a preſumption, that, as he could have no hopes of ſaving the city, he would gladly ſubmit to any terms that were impoſed on him.

Hejra 797. A.D. 1394.

Guzelhiſſar built.

Conſtantinople inveſted.

In purſuance of this advice, Bâ-yezîd ſent his ambaſſadors to Paleologus (U) with a letter, requiring him to deliver up the city to him, telling him, he had ſubdued the reſt of his dominions, and that beyond the walls he had nothing left; but the ambaſſadors had orders, in caſe they found the Greeks averſe to ſurrender the city, to conclude a peace on their paying a yearly tribute. This contrivance had the effect, and a truce was made for ten years, on condition, that Paleologus ſhould pay annually ten thouſand Filuri Altum; that the Othmâns be allowed to built a jami and mekiene in Conſtantinople; alſo to appoint a kâdi, or *judge*, who was to decide between Mohammedans: but when the diſpute was between a Chriſ-

Emperor becomes tributary.

(T) Iſtambol ſeems to be a corruption of Conſtantinople; for the more learned Turks, and the emperor in his mandates writes Conſtantaniyeh. Tekkur, or teggur, ſignifies *governor*: but they ſometimes call the emperor Kayſer, or Cæſar. It is their inſolence to call him only governor of Conſtantinople, though at that time he had nothing left without the walls of the city.

(U) This was Manuel, who began his reign in 1384.

tian

tian and a Mohammedan, then the patriarch was to determine it. The same regulation was to take place also at Adrianople[r].

A.D. 1391. This is the account given by the Turkish historians relating to the Greek affairs. Let us now see what the Greeks themselves say upon the subject. According to Dukas, after Bâ-yezîd had made himself master of Bithynia, Phrygia, Bulgaria, and Karia, he sent to require the emperor John Paleologus to pay tribute, and order his son Manuel with a hundred men to follow him in his war against the Turks of Pamphilia. John, who had no expectation of succours from any state whatever, was obliged to comply. The soltân afterwards prohibited the exportation of corn, which was annually made from Asia to the isles of Lesbos, Khio, Lemnos, and Rhodes. Having also fitted out a fleet, he sent sixty great vessels to Khio, burned the city and towns about it, ravaged the isles of the Archipelago, Euboé, and part of Attika. The emperor, still more alarmed at these proceedings, resolved to fortify the city on the south side along the shore, and built two towers on the side of the Golden Gate with the stones of a church, which he had pulled down for that purpose.

The isles ravaged.

Manuel, emperor.

But, as soon as the war in Pamphilia was finished, Bâyezîd having sent to tell him, that, if he did not demolish those fortifications, he would put out the eyes of his son Manuel, the emperor was forced to do what was required; and soon after died of grief for the bad state of his affairs. Manuel being informed of his father's death, escaped from Prusa, and reached Constantinople. When the news of his escape came to the ears of Bâ-yezîd, who had a design to slay him, he sent to make several unjust demands; and, among the rest, to have a kadi established in that city, to decide the difference between the Musulmans settled there on account of trade, adding this threat: "If you will not obey my commands, shut yourselves up within the walls of your city, for I am in possession of all without."

Thessalonika taken.

The tyrant, afterwards, passing from Bithynia into Thrace, ruined all the villages between Panida and Constantinople, carrying off all the inhabitants. Next he took Thessalonika, and all the neighbouring places. He sent Abranesus into the Morea to ravage Akhaia and Lacedemon; while Tarkan was detached towards the Euxine sea, to ravage the country on that side with fire and sword.

[r] Cantemir's Othm. Hist. p. 47, & seqq.

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He likewiſe ſhut up all the avenues to Conſtantinople, that the inhabitants might neither go in nor out, nor be ſupplied with proviſions; a blockade which ſoon produced ſuch a ſcarcity, that they were forced to pull down the houſes for wood to make fires.

Chriſtian princes join, but are defeated.

The emperor hereupon wrote to the pope, the king of France, and krâl of Hungary, to let them know the extremity he was reduced to, and the danger which the city was in of falling into the hands of the enemies of the croſs, unleſs immediately aſſiſted. The princes of the Weſt, touched with Manuel's letter, armed in his defence; and, in the beginning of ſpring, the duke of Burgundy, beſides ſeveral Engliſh, French, and Italians, met in Hungary, where being joined by Sigiſmond, krâl of that country, and king of the Romans, they paſſed the Danube at Nikopolis. Bâ-yezîd, having drawn all the forces of his empire together, not omitting thoſe which guarded Conſtantinople, marched along by Philippopolis, and the mountains near the marſhes, where he waited for them.

A.D. 1393.

Manuel reſigns to his ſon John.

Next day the Chriſtians appeared; and having made the tortoiſe, broke the main body of the enemy, and penetrated to their rear. When the Flemings ſaw that the Turks, who fought with ſlings or bows, began to fly, they purſued them in diſorder, and made a great ſlaughter. Then the guards of the palace iſſued forth from their ambuſcade, and falling impetuouſly, with a great cry, upon the French and Hungarians, encloſed them, and having cut them in pieces, put the reſt to flight. The Flemings, ſeeing their friends defeated, fled themſelves, and were purſued to the Danube, where ſuch as eſcaped the ſword were drowned. Several lords of great quality were taken; among the reſt the duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, whom Bâ-yezîd ſent to Pruſa, and afterwards releaſed for a great ranſom.

The ſoltân, elated with this ſucceſs, ſummoned the emperor to ſurrender Conſtantinople; who did not vouchſafe to ſend him an anſwer. Hereupon Bâ-yezîd, affecting to ſupport the right which John, the ſon of Andronicus had to the empire, told him, that, in caſe he would yield the throne to the lawful heir, he would lay down his arms, and maintain peace with the city. Manuel, being a very wiſe prince, and fearing the people, who began to divide in parties on this occaſion, might be conſtrained by the ſcarcity, which increaſed every day, to renounce their religion, and give up their country, ſent to his nephew John, who

who was then in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople with ten thouſand Turks; offering to yield the city to him, provided he would only let him take the gallies, which were then in the port, and retire with them whither he pleaſed. This propoſal being agreed to, Manuel put John in poſſeſſion of the palace; and, going on board with his wife and children, departed.

Manuel, arriving in the Morea, left his wife, and two young children, John and Theodorus, at Modon. Then, ſending back the gallies, went on board a large ſhip for Venice. From thence, paſſing through Italy, he viſited France and Germany. The princes received him every where with great honour, and made him rich preſents. He afterwards returned to Venice, and from thence to Modon; where he reſided, expecting to ſee the ruin of the empire.

Bay-yezîd imagined that John would have ſurrendered Conſtantinople to him, as had been agreed on, in conſider-
A. D. 1394. ation of the Morea, and a treaty of peace. But John found means to compound the matter by delivering up Selivrea, and admitting a judge into the city, to which his empire was confined.

Timûr's invaſion. While Bâ-yezîd propoſed, after ſo many conqueſts, to take a little reſt, news came that Timûr Bek, or Tamerlan, was advancing to invade his dominions. Some authors pretend, that Paleologus had in his diſtreſs written to this Tatar prince; promiſing for his aſſiſtance to hold his empire of him; but that he refuſed to accept thereof, though at the ſame time he engaged to ſuccour him; and this is thought to be one reaſon of Timûr's expedition [s]. But Dukas, the Greek hiſtorian, who has written beſt of theſe affairs, far from aſſigning any ſuch reaſon for it, writes that Timûr made this war in behalf of the Mohammedan princes, whom Bâ-yezîd had ſtripped of their dominions; and that he commended the ſoltân for ſpoiling the Chriſtians, at the ſame time he condemned him for invading the Muſulmans [t]; which we find is nearly the truth of the caſe, as delivered by the Oriental hiſtorians.

Hejra 800. A.D. 1397. According to the Turkiſh writers, Ahmed Halamîr, khân of Baghdâd, having, in the year 800, revolted from *Occaſion of it.* the ſoltân of Egypt to Bâ-yezîd, this latter by his means wreſted from the Egyptians Ilbiſtân, Malatia, Diyurghe, and Nebbi. In his return, he entered the province of Arzingân, ſubject to Tahrin Beg; and, defeating the gover-

[s] Cantemir's Othm. Hiſt. p. 53. [t] Dukas, cap. 15.

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nors thereof, impoſed on him a heavy tribute. Shortly after, ſuſpecting his fidelity, he carried his wife and two ſons in hoſtage to Pruſa. Some hiſtorians of leſs authority ſay, that the motive to this action was his being enamoured of the lady; whom he forced from her huſband. Tahrin Beg, not brooking the injury, put himſelf under Timûr's protection, and excited him to make war on Bâ-yezîd.

Accordingly, in 804, that conqueror moved againſt him; and, being met by Ilderîm near Pruſa, a bloody battle was fought, in which there fell on both ſides more than three hundred and forty thouſand men. At length the Turks were defeated; Muſtâfa, Bâ-yezîd's eldeſt ſon, was ſlain, fighting gallantly; and the ſoltân himſelf, being taken priſoner, was ſhut up in an iron cage, where he ended his days. Timûr hereupon entered Pruſa, and forced the reſt of the Aſiatic countries to ſubmit to his yoke [u]. Hejra 804. A. D. 1401.

Bâ-yezîd defeated.

The foregoing account of this war is ſo very ſhort, as well as inaccurate, for neither the time nor the place of the battle, nor the treatment Bâ-yezîd met with, are truly related, that one would imagine the Turks have no good memoirs among them concerning it. The place of battle indeed ſeems to have been inſerted by prince Cantemir by conjecture; for, in a note, after telling us, that moſt Chriſtian writers ſay the battle was fought on the banks of the Euphrates, he alleges, that, as all the Turkiſh writers affirm that Timûr immediately after the battle entered Pruſa, it is a clear proof, that it was fought on the plains of that city. But this is contradicted by the Oriental, as well as Greek hiſtorians; and even by the Turkiſh author of the annals of Gaudier [w], which he ſo much depreciates; who all agree to make the field of battle, the plain of Enguri, or Ancyra. *Turkiſh account cenſured.*

The occaſion of war between Timûr and Bâ-yezîd, according to Sharîfo'ddîn ali Yezdi, was this. Bâ-yezîd having, after the death of the Kadi Burhano'ddîn, made himſelf maſter of Siwâs, or Sebaſte, and Malatîyah; ſent in very haughty terms to ſummon Taharten, prince of Arzenjân, to come to his court, and remit the tributes of that city, Arzerûm, and their dependencies, to his treaſury. Taharten immediately ſent advice of this demand to Timûr; who was ſurpriſed at the boldneſs of the Othmân, knowing that Taharten was under his protection; and ſent him a very mortifying letter, in which he calls him a piſmire,

[u] Cant. ubi ſupra, p. 54, & ſeqq. [w] P. 23.

a little

a little prince; and, what doubtless gave most offence of all, a Turkmân. Bâ-yezîd answered the ambassadors, that he wanted to be at war with their master; and that if Timûr did not come to seek him, he would go seek Timûr in the very heart of Persia. At the return of the ambassadors, Timûr, who was then in Georgia, began his march towards Asia Minor, which he entered the first of Moharram, 803; and, marching to Siwâs, or Sebaste, sent in pursuit of Mehemed Chelebi, surnamed Kerishchi; whose troops, being overtaken, were cut in pieces. He then besieged the city, the walls of which were so ruined by battering and sapping in eighteen days, that the inhabitants, driving out Mostafa, the governor, implored the mercy of Timûr; who granted it to the Musulmans, but made slaves of the Christians. He ordered also four thousand Armenian cavalry of the garrison to be thrown into pits, dug for the purpose, and covered with earth; razing at the same time the walls of Siwâs [y].

Sept. 1st. N. S. 1400.

Timûr takes Siwâs.

Offers peace on easy terms.

Timûr, after this success, unwilling to crush Bâ-yezîd, instead of penetrating farther into Rûm, turned off towards Syria; which he conquered from the soltân of Egypt, in revenge for giving refuge to soltân Ahmed Jelayr, and Kara Yusef, the Turkmân; after which conquests he went and subdued Bâ-ghdâd. While Timûr was thus employed, Bâyezîd, at the instigation of those two princes to revenge the ruin of Siwâs, went and took Arzenjân, after routing Taharten; and sent that prince's wife and children prisoners to Brusa, or Prusa. Timûr, being informed of these hostilities, detached a large body of troops, under the command of his son, the Mîrza Shâh Rukh, to attack Bâ-yezîd. But this soltân having sent ambassadors to Timûr, with a letter full of submission, and prevailed on Taharten himself, on promise of releasing his family, to intercede for him in person, the Tatar monarch was appeased. However, he told the ambassador, that he expected two things of his master, if he intended to remove the cause of quarrel between them; one was, to deliver to him the fortress of Kemak, which he said belonged to the countries under his obedience; the other was, either to put Kara Yusef to death, to send that robber and murderer of merchants, the worst of villains, in chains to him, or at least to expel him out of his dominions. He promised, in case of his compliance, not only to make peace with him, but also to send him powerful succours

[y] Shârifo'ddîn's Hist. Timûr, lib. v. cap. 13, & seqq.

against

againſt the infidels, whom he was at war with; on account of which wars, he ſaid, it was that he had forborn ſo long to invade his territories.

Timûr, having treated the Othmân ambaſſadors with great honour, ſent one of his own in their company, with a letter to Bâ-yezîd; and afterwards another. Hejra 804. A. D. 1402.

Bâ-yezîd's obſtinacy.

When two months beyond the time agreed on for their return were paſſed, he grew impatient, and marched towards Anatolia. Being arrived at the caſtle of Kemak, he beſieged it; and, having taken it, gave the government thereof to prince Taharten.

From thence he marched to Siwâs, where one of his ambaſſadors met him with freſh ambaſſadors from Bâ-yezîd, and an anſwer to his letter, conceived in very haughty terms; which provoked Timûr. However, at diſmiſſing thoſe officers, he told them, that, conſidering their maſter employed his whole ſtrength againſt the Infidels, he was ſorry to be conſtrained to invade his dominions; and that he was ſtill willing to live at peace with him, provided he only reſtored the officers belonging to prince Taharten; and ſent him one of his ſons, who ſhould be treated with as much regard as his own.

Comes to Angori.

Timûr, having reviewed his troops in the plain of Siwâs, was informed that Bâ-yezîd was arrived at Tokat; but becauſe the road thither was full of foreſts, he took that of Kayſarîyah, from whence he marched towards Ankora; which he vigorouſly attacked. There advice being brought that Bâ-yezîd had advanced within four leagues, to relieve the place, he raiſed the ſiege; and halting after a ſhort march, cauſed his camp to be incloſed by a trench fortified with bucklers and paliſades. He had the river which waters the city behind him; and as the Othmâns had no water, but that of a little ſpring at the foot of a hill near the paſſage of their army, he ſent to deſtroy it [z].

Order of Timûr's and Bâ-yezîd's wings.

Timûr having ſpent the night in prayer to God for victory, in the morning ranged his army (X) in order of battle. The three bodies into which it was divided were commanded by the mîrzas, his ſons and grandchildren, aſ-

[z] Sharifo'd. Hiſt. Tim. lib. v. cap. 34—46.

(X) Khalkondylas makes the army of Timûr eight hundred thouſand, and of Bâ-yezîd only one hundred and twenty thouſand; but Schilperger, who was in the battle, ſays the firſt had one million ſix hundred thouſand, and the latter four hundred thouſand. Khalk. lib. iii. cap. 10.

fisted by his most experienced captains, who acted as lieutenants-general under them. The mîrzas Shâh Rukh and Kalîl Soltân were at the head of the left-wing; the van whereof was led by the mîrza Soltân Hussеyn. The right-wing was under the command of the mîrza Mirân Shâh; and its van, of the mîrza Abubekr. The main body consisted of a vast number of the greatest lords of Asia. Forty colonels were at the head of their regiments on the right, and as many on the left. The mîrza Mehemed Soltân was general of the whole body; and before him was carried the great staff, on whose top was a red horse-tail, and on that a half-moon. He had for his lieutenants-general the mîrzas Pîr Mehemed, Omar Sheykh, Eskânder, and other princes, his brothers. Timûr himself commanded the body of reserve, composed of forty complete companies. He ordered several ranks of elephants, with splendid trappings and towers on their backs filled with archers, to be posted at the head of the whole army; as well to intimidate the enemy, as to serve for trophies of his Indian victories.

Bâ-yezîd also took care to draw up his army in order. The right-wing was commanded by Pasîr Laus, an European (Y), his wife's brother, with twenty thousand cavalry of Europe, all armed in steel from head to foot; so that nothing could be seen but their eyes. Their armour was fastened below the foot by a padlock, which was to be opened before their cuirass or helmet could be taken off. The left was conducted by Musulmân Chelebi, son of Bâyezîd, and composed of the troops of Anatolia. The main body was commanded by Bâ-yezîd himself, having for his lieutenants-general his three sons, Musa, Aysa, and Mostafa. Mehemed Chelebi, surnamed Kirishchi, the most skilful of his five sons, was at the head of the rear; and had for his lieutenants six pâshâs, with a great number of other brave officers.

The battle begins. About ten in the morning the Tatar infantry, with their bucklers before them, posted themselves on the neighbouring hills; and while the Othmâns advanced in good order, and full of spirits, the drum was beaten for the battle to begin, and the great cry, Sûrûn! made at the sound of the huge trumpet kerrenay. In this interval Timûr alighted to go to prayers; then remounting, gave orders for attacking the enemy.

(Y) This was Stephen, son of Lazarus, Bâ-yezîd's brother-in-law; according to Dukas.

The

The mîrza Abûbekr, at the head of the van-guard of the right-wing, began the battle, by a diſcharge of arrows on the Turks left-wing, commanded by Muſulmân Chelebi, Bâ-yezîd's eldeſt ſon, who performed noble actions; but not being able to withſtand the ſtrength and intrepidity of the Tatar troops, was forced to fly. The mîrza Soltân Hûſſeyn, who commanded the vân of Timûr's left-wing, fell on the enemy's right, and made a cruel ſlaughter; but Timûr perceiving that he had advanced too far, ſent the mîrza Mehemed Soltân, at the head of all the behâdrs, or *forlorn hope*, to ſupport him.

Theſe ruſhing full ſpeed into the Othmân army, broke the ranks, and put them into great diſorder. The Europeans, on the other hand, gave marks of prodigious valour, each party repulſing its adverſary by turns; but at length the Tatars gained the advantage, by the death of Peſîr Laus, and the ſlaughter of the infantry of the Turks right-wing. The mîrzas Pîr Mehemed, Omar Sheykh, and Eſkânder, who were lieutenants to their brother mîrza Mehemed Soltân, chaſed the Othmân infantry from the hills where they were poſted. Timûr perceiving the enemy began to give way, ordered the mîrzas and amîrs to fall upon them with the whole army. Theſe generals accordingly advanced, ſword in hand; and made a terrible ſlaughter. *The Turks give way.*

While the mîrza Mehemed Soltân routed the right-wing, ſix companies of his ſoldiers aſcended a hill, which properly was their poſt. Bâ-yezîd obſerving their ſmall number, attacked them, at the head of his main body; and having driven them from thence, drew up his own men on the ſame ground. The ſix companies having joined the mîrza rallied; and being reinforced with ſeveral regiments, returned, with deſign to attack Bâ-yezid's main body. The Othmân emperor having from the hill carefully examined the diſpoſition of his army, and perceiving the diſorder, or rather defeat, of his two wings, whoſe ſoldiers fled to join him, he was ſeized with fear. Mean while Timûr having advanced with the mîrza Shâh Rukh, penetrated into the midſt of the enemy. The mîrzas and amîrs of the right and left-wings haſted thither likewiſe; and being come up, all the troops falling upon Bâ-yezîd, ſurrounded him, with his army; like beaſts encloſed in the circle of a chace. *Are quite overthrown.*

The ſoltân, notwithſtanding the miſerable ſtate to which he was reduced, maintained his ground all day, like a brave hero and ſkilful warrior; and, when night came on, *Bâ-yezîd flies, and is taken.*

he descended from the hill, and fled; but being vigorously pursued, he was at last overtaken and seized by Soltân Mahmûd Khân; and, at sun-set, presented by the great amîrs to Timûr; who, moved to see so great a prince in that condition, ordered him to be unbound, and brought before him with respect (Z). He went to receive him at the door of his tent with great ceremony; and making him sit down by him, in mild terms accused him of being the cause of his own misfortune, by refusing to comply with his reasonable demands. Bâ-yezîd having confessed the charge, and asked pardon, the conqueror gave him a splendid vest, promised to use neither him nor his friends ill, and treated him as a great emperor. The captive soltân, perceiving Timûr's generosity, besought him to order search to be made for his sons Musa and Mostafa, who were with him in the battle. Search was accordingly made, but only Musa was found. This prince, Timûr, after presenting him a vest, sent to his father; for whom he ordered a royal pavilion (A) to be erected near his own[a].

Anatolia laid waste.

After this victory Yakub, governor of Siwâs, delivered the city and castle to Timûr, who then sent out several detachments to scour the country on every side, and ravage all Anatolia; where the Tatars found such store of wealth, that every man became rich with his share of the plunder.

[a] Sharifo'd. lib. v. cap. 47—49.

(Z) Dukas says, that Tamerlan kept him a long time standing at his tent door, while he played at chess with his son Siacruc (Shâh Rukh), the soldiers shouting for joy; and saying, "Here is Bâ-yezîd, general of the Turks, reduced under your power, and loaded with chains." At last, Tamerlan breaking off the game, and looking at his prisoner, said, "Is this he who ordered us to separate ourselves from our wives, if we did not make war upon him?" Bâ-yezîd answered he was the person; but that the victor ought not to insult the vanquished. The conqueror then made him sit opposite to him, and comforted him, promising not to put him to death, or treat him with the same cruelty that he had done others.

(A) Dukas relates, that his son Mohammed attempted to deliver him by a passage made under-ground to the tent; which was discovered by the guards, who observed the earth to move; but neither he nor Khalkondylas mention any thing of the iron cage, which appears to be a Turkish fiction, to dishonour Timûr, by dishonouring their emperor.

The

The mîrza Mehemed Soltân was ſent to Prûſa to ſeize the treaſures of Bâ-yezîd; but Muſulmân Chelebi had got thither before him, and carried them off. However, he ſeized the ſoltân's wife and two daughters, who had hidden themſelves at Yeniſhahr, with the daughters of ſoltân Ahmed Jelayr, king of Bâghdâd, whom Bâ-yezîd had demanded in marriage for his ſon Moſtafa; but Kâra Yûſef had fled before the battle into Arabia.

Prûſa was burned, Nicea pillaged, and the country ravaged as far as the Thracian Boſphorus, over which Muſulmân Chelebi fled; leaving his wife and effects a prey to his purſuers. Timûr was then at Kyutahiyeh, a delightful city, two days journey from Prûſa, where he ſtaid a month; during that time he reſtored to Bâ-yezîd his wife Deſtina (B), daughter of Laus, with his daughter, and all his domeſtics; but was deſirous that princeſs, who till then had been tolerated in the Chriſtian religion, ſhould embrace Mohammediſm. On the other hand, Amîr Mehemed, ſon of Karâmân, who had for twelve years been kept in chains by Bâ-yezîd, being brought to court, Timûr honoured him with a veſt and belt, and gave him the government of the whole province of Karâmania, with Konîyah, Laranda, Ak Saray, Anzarya, Alaya, and their dependencies [b]. *Timûr's generoſity.*

Timûr, marching from Kyutahiyeh to Tangûrlik, made feaſts and balls, to which Bâ-yezîd was invited for his entertainment. The victor did every thing to pleaſe him, and even beſtowed on him the kingdom of Anatolia, which he poſſeſſed before, by placing the crown on his head, and granting him the patents uſual on thoſe occaſions.

Timûr from hence ſent ambaſſadors to Conſtantinople, to ſummon the Tekkûr, or Greek emperor, to pay the tribute and cuſtoms: two meſſengers were alſo diſpatched to Muſulmân Chelebi, Bâ-yezîd's ſon, who reſided at Guzelhiſſar, oppoſite to Conſtantinople, to tell him, that he muſt either repair to court, or ſend Timûr ſome money; and that otherwiſe he would croſs the ſtreights in queſt of him. Some time after the ambaſſadors returned, with two deputies, from the Greek Tekkûr, to notify their maſter's ſubmiſſion. The meſſengers likewiſe arrived *Greek emperor ſubmits.*

[b] Sharifo'd. lib. v. cap. 50—52. Ducas, cap. 16, & ſeq.

(B) European romancers call her Roxana; and pretend Timûr kept her for his own uſe.

with Sheykh Ramadân, prime minister to Bâ-yezîd, and grand kâdi of the empire, who brought a letter from Musulmân Chelebi, signifying his obligations for the favours shewn his father, and his readiness to wait on Timûr, if it was his pleasure.

Christian Smyrna ruined.

Timûr understanding that there were on the sea-coast two strong fortresses, named Ezmîr, or Smyrna, one inhabited by Musulmâns, the other by Christians; he, out of zeal to religion, went and besieged the latter, which he took in fourteen days, not without great opposition; for it was built so strongly with free-stone, that Soltân Morâd had several times attempted it, and Bâ-yezîd besieged it seven years in vain. To attack the place on the side of the sea, as well as land, they built in the midst of the water great scaffolds, near one another. From thence, to the two sides of the castle, they made an even way, which they secured on each side; so that the Musulmâns, armed with their bucklers, fought on those scaffolds, and made their attacks as securely as on land; besides, the passage of the sea being thus shut up, there was no possibility of bringing any succour to the place. Mean while they at once battered and undermined the walls and towers; when the sapping was finished, they set fire to the props, and, of a sudden, the bastions and curtains fell down. The Musulmâns then entering the town, put the inhabitants to the sword, after they had made a brave defence. A few escaped by swimming to the ships. Their houses were all demolished. Those of Foja, or Phocæa, avoided the same misfortune, by submitting to pay tribute. At the same time Sheykh Ramadân having come a second time from Musulmân Chelebi, with rich presents and humble submissions, Timûr confirmed him in the principality of Isra Yaka, by patents sealed with his red hand, and sent him a vest woven with gold, a crown and a belt. An ambassador from Issa Chelebi, another of Bâyezîd's sons, was soon after received with honour.

Death of Bâ-yezîd.

Timûr, before he left Ezmîr, furnished the inhabitants of the Mohammedan fortress with arms, and ordered them to build a strong citadel near the place where the Christian town stood, in order to hinder the Europeans from ever settling there in the sequel. Being come to Soltân Hissar, he gave the cities of Kyutahiyeh, Tangûzlik, and Kara Shahr, with the province of Ghermianeyli, to Yakûb Chelebi, to whom they belonged by right of succession. Then he went and took the town of Egridur, situate on the lake Falak Abâd, in the country of Hamîd Eyli,

Eyli. Afterwards he marched on to Ak Shahr. At this place Bâ-yezîd, who had fallen ill at Egridur, died of an apoplexy, the 14th of Shaban, 805; which misfortune Timûr bewailed with tears; for he had resolved, after the conquest of Anatolia, to restore him to his throne. He gave largesses to Bâ-yezîd's officers; and dismissed Musa Chelebi, with a royal vest, a belt, a sword, and a quiver inlaid with precious stones, a load of gold, and thirty horses; telling him, that his father's corpse should be conveyed to Prusa, with pomp becoming the greatest king. *March 23, N. S.* *His pompous funeral.*

Timûr, in leaving Anatolia, the conquest of which he atchieved in one year, carried with him the Kara Tatars, settled about Kayseriyah and Amasia, in order to re-people some lands in Tartary [c].

Ba-yezîd reigned fourteen years three months, and lived fifty-eight. He was famous for fortitude of mind and celerity of action; subject to anger, but soon softened into clemency: so great a lover of architecture, that temples, academies, and hospitals were erected by him every year. He was the first of the Othmân race who waged naval wars; having built about three hundred strong vessels for that purpose. *Reign and character.*

Concerning his sons, under the corrupted names of Erdogul, Issa, Kalepin, Cyricelebis, and Cibelin, many things are related by the Christian writers, which appear to be fictitious, both from the course of the history, and testimony of the Turkish authors. These latter unanimously ascribe to Bâ-yezîd four sons, Mostafa, who fell in the battle, Solymân, Musa, and Mohammed. Although the three last swayed the Turkish sceptre, yet Mohammed only is reckoned among the Othmân emperors; because he enjoyed the whole empire, which neither of the other two possessed; one governing in Europe, while the other reigned in Asia [d].

Interregnum under Solymân Chelebi (C).

SOLYMAN, second son of Bâ-yezîd, having escaped from the battle with his father's prime wazîr, Ali Bâshâ, *Solymân Chelebi disobliges Timûr.*

[c] Sharifo'd. lib. v. cap. 53—63. [d] Cant. Othm. Hist. p. 56, & seq.

(C) This Solymân Chelebi is the same whom others call Musulmân Chelebi, and some Calepin, which is a corruption of Chelebi.

fled first to Nicea; from whence he repaired to Adrianople, where he was saluted emperor by the remains of the European army.

According to Dukas, Musulmân, who is the Solymân of the Turkish historians, passing over from Asia to Constantinople, implored the protection of the emperor Manuel, who, on the defeat of Bâ-yezîd, resumed the sovereign power, with the consent of the great officers; and desiring only the government of Thrace, with some other provinces, agreed to give up Thessalonica; the cities along the Strymon as far as Zetunion, together with the Morea; the places from Panida to the sacred entrance, and the forts on the Euxine sea, as far as Varna. After matters were compromised, the emperor sent him to Adrianople, and dispatched proper persons to receive the above mentioned cities in his name, and drive out the Turks [e].

Timûr, on his arrival at Prusa, sent ambassadors to that prince, with a letter, importing, that he was sorry for his father's unexpected death; and that, provided Bâyezîd's family would only acknowlege his clemency, he would, instead of an enemy, be a friend, nay, a father to them. Solymân, instead of complying with the conqueror's proposal, treated his ambassadors injuriously, and returnhim a proud answer. Hereupon Timûr sent for his brother Musa Chelebi, and conferred the empire on him; saying, "Receive thy father's inheritance, for it is not kingdoms, but a kingly mind I seek [f]."

State of Anatolia. Dukas records that, after the Scythian or Tatar invasion, while Thrace enjoyed a profound peace, the provinces of Asia were in great confusion, as well as afflicted with the plague and famine. Karmian, surnamed Alisâr, by consent of Tamerlan, took possession of the countries which belonged to his ancestors. Sarkân re-entered Lydia; Or Khân, and the two sons of Atin, Amir and Isa, had Ionia; while Eli, son of Mantakhia, enjoyed Karia and Lycia.

Mohammed defeats Isa. Mohammed, son of Bâ-yezîd, remained at Ancyra, with Musa, his youngest brother, in a private condition, without any sovereign power; nor was Mostafa in a better state. However, Mohammed sent Temirta, who had been one of his father's generals, to attack Isa, whom he took and slew; an exploit which raised both the reputation and power of his master in Galatia.

[e] Dukas, cap. 18. [f] Cant. p. 59.

Mean

Mean while one Cineis, whoſe father, Kara Su Baſhâ, having been for a long time governor of Smyrna, was highly eſteemed by the people of Ionia, made war againſt the two ſons of Atin, who poſſeſſed Epheſus, which he took in a few days; and then ſent to tell Muſulmân, it was for him that he had conquered the principality of Atin. At the ſame time he demanded ſuccours to make head againſt his enemies; which being ſent him from Kallipolis, the ſons of Atin were driven out of the country. *Exploits of Chuneid Beg.*

In the ſpring, two years after the Scythian invaſion, Amir, whoſe brother was dead, retired to the court of Mantakhia, Elie-beg, prince of Karia, his uncle; who, at his requeſt, marched with him, at the head of ſix thouſand men, towards Epheſus, where Karaſu commanded with three thouſand men, and made a ſtout defence. But the enemy having fired the city, the inhabitants ſurrendered it; and Kara Su Baſhâ retired into the citadel, where he held out till autumn, expecting relief from his ſon Cineis, who was at Smyrna. He then yielded the place to the conqueror, who carried him into his dominions; and impriſoned him with others in the fort of Mamala. *His father taken.*

Although Cineis could not ſuccour his father by land, he aſſiſted him by ſea: for arriving at the fort in a galley, he gave notice to the priſoners; who, making their guards drunk, let themſelves down by ropes in the night, and eſcaped to Smyrna. Towards winter, Cineis marched to attack Epheſus; which, on Amîr's retiring into the citadel, he plundered, and committed unheard of cruelties. At length, on promiſe of his daughter in marriage, Amir came forth, and embraced Cineis; who proclaimed him lieutenant-general of the country of Atin, and ſhook off Muſulman's yoke. *Set at liberty.* *Agrees with Amîr.*

Cineis afterwards, accompanied by Amir, viſited his territories, and drew over to his intereſt the cities ſituated on the Menander, with thoſe of Philadelphia, Sardes, and Nymphea, as far as the river Hermon; making his relations and friends governors. In ſhort, while he was at Epheſus with his future ſon-in-law, it was reported of a ſudden that the duke (D) was dead; and next morning his corpſe was carried to Fort Pirgion, near Mount Tmolus, there to be buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors. *Seizes Aydin.*

Then Cineis, taking on him the government as an inheritance, ſet up for a ſovereign prince in Aſia: but Muſulman reſolved to humble him; and croſſing over to Pruſa, *Excites the Seljûk princes againſt Muſulmân.*

(D) That is, Amir.

was

was received with great joy. While he was raising forces for that purpose, in the beginning of spring, Cineis repaired first to Karamân, at Kogni, and then to Karmian, at Kotiayon; whom, after putting them in mind of what they had suffered from Bâ-yezîd, he advised not to wait till the serpent he had left behind swallowed them all up, but to crush him before he grew too powerful.

Induced by these reasons, they accompanied him to Ephesus, with their forces. Karâman brought thirty thousand men, Karmian ten thousand, and Cineis had five thousand. Mean while Musulmân, with twenty-five thousand troops, marched by Lopadion, and the field of Monomene, to Smyrna. Being somewhat disturbed at the junction of those two princes, he proceeded to Mesaulion, near Ephesus, where he intrenched himself, for fear of the enemy. The two armies were but six leagues asunder, yet durst not venture to approach one another.

Flies to Musulmân. During this suspension, Cineis was informed by an intimate friend, that Karamân and Karmian intended to seize him that night, and make their peace with Musulmân, by delivering him up. Cineis, on this advice, ordered candles to be lighted in his tent, and rode post-haste to the citadel, of which his brother Bâ-yezîd was governor. Him he exhorted to defend the place till next day: then in the night repaired to the camp of Musulmân, with a cord about his neck, and confessing his guilt, submitted to his mercy. Musulmân forgave, and presented him with a rich vest; then marched towards Ephesus. The two princes having been to look for Cineis at midnight, in his tent, and not finding him, were in fear of being surprised. The army, in confusion, began to pack up their baggage; and, at sun-rise, while they forded the Menander on one side, Musulmân crossed it with his army over a bridge near Mount Galesius, and entered Ephesus. Cineis pressed him to pursue the enemy; but he, not caring to trust him, would not follow his advice. In short, he encamped thereabout, and stayed four months, wholly plunged in debauchery and pleasures, to which he was strangely addicted [g].

Defeats Musa. Let us now return to the Turkish historians. Solymân, upon the news that Timûr had advanced his brother Musa to the throne, passed into Asia with the European forces, and marched directly to Prusa. From thence Musa, being much inferior in strength, fled to Karamân-ogli:

[g] Dukas, cap. 18.

but

but not thinking himſelf ſafe there, reſolved to retire to Iſfendar-beg; from which deſign he was diverted by the ambaſſadors of that prince, who apprehended Solymân's reſentment. Nor did he judge amiſs, for Solymân preſently advanced towards Iſfendar-beg's dominions: but being made ſenſible that his brother was not there, he returned to Pruſa; where, deſpiſing Muſa's attempts, he gave himſelf wholly up to gluttony and drunkenneſs. His brother Mohammed, prince of Amaſia, having ſent ambaſſadors to ſalute him emperor, and offer preſents, he ſpoke very ſharply to them, and diſmiſſed them without any anſwer; which imprudent conduct alienated Mohammed's affection from him, and proved extremely prejudicial to his affairs.

Mean while, Muſa Chelebi, who, after Iſfendar-beg's repulſe, had croſſed into Europe in a little boat, which he found near Nicea, wandered through ſeveral countries, and at laſt ſtopped in Walakhia. There aſſembling a great number of ſoldiers, who were in his intereſt; and being aſſiſted by Walakhian troops, he re-entered the Turkiſh empire, and became maſter of Adrianople. His progreſs awaking Solymân from his dream of luxury, he, in 809, aſſembled the Aſiatic army, and paſſed into Europe. But Muſa, either through natural timorouſneſs, or diſtruſt of his own ſtrength, not daring to ſtand a battle, returned to Walakhia: while Solymân, aſcribing his ſucceſſes wholly to his own bravery and prudence, relapſed into his former vices. Military diſcipline was neglected; honours were conferred on wine-ſellers and pimps; in a word, the court had the appearance of a brothel, rather than a ſchool of virtue.

His luxury.

Hejra 809. A.D. 1406.

Muſa Chelebi, thinking he might turn his brother's luxury to his advantage, applied ſecretly, by letters, to the generals and great men; who, offended with Solymân's exceſſes, were eaſily perſuaded to revolt. In effect, Muſa re-aſſembling an army, by long marches arrived at Adrianople, before his brother knew any thing of the matter; who being wholly unprepared to oppoſe him, left the city, in order to fly to Conſtantinople: but loitering by the way, to indulge himſelf in drinking, he was taken in a bath at a certain village, and ſlain by one of the ſoldiers of Muſa; who ordered the body to be buried in the ſepulchre of his grandfather Morâd, called Khodavendikar[h].

He is killed.

Dukas relates the death of Muſulman, or Solymân, in

On what occaſion.

[h] Cant. ubi ſupr. p. 60. 63.

a dif-

a different manner. According to him, that prince departing from Adrianople to go to Conſtantinople, with only a few horſe, they deſerted him on the road, to join Muſa's party; ſo that entering alone into a ſmall town, whoſe inhabitants, from the richneſs of his habit, judged him to be a prince, five young men ran to meet him with their bows. At this ſalutation being ſurpriſed, he ſhot two of them dead: hereupon the other three making a ſtand, to revenge the loſs of their brothers, ſhot at him all together; and having brought him off his horſe, cut off his head.

Muſa, who was received with acclamations at Adrianople, bewailed his brother's death, and cauſed his body to be pompouſly buried at Pruſa. He likewiſe ordered the three young men, who had killed him, to be apprehended; and having aſſembled the inhabitants of the place, commanded them to be bound, and burnt in their reſpective houſes, with their wives and children [i].

His character. Solymân ruled affairs ſeven years and ten months. He was a young man, far exceeding the reſt of his brothers both in good and bad qualities; a valiant and moſt fortunate general; a prince of great clemency and generoſity; but ruined by his luxury.

Interregnum under Muſa Chelebi.

Muſa Chelebi. WHILE Muſa reaped the reward of his labours at Adrianople, in being ſaluted emperor by the European army, Mohammed, lord of Amaſia, raiſing forces in order to revenge the murder of Solymân, who was his brother by the ſame venter, marched to Pruſa, which he ſurpriſed; and was there ſaluted emperor by his army. But thinking it prudent to ſettle the affairs of Aſia before he publiſhed his reſolution to depoſe Muſa, he marched againſt the plundering Tartars, and other bands of robbers, who, ſince Timûr's invaſion, had infeſted Anatolia; theſe he extirpated in the firſt year of his reign. He ſurpriſed, took, and beheaded Karadewlet Shâh, the only ſurviving leader of thoſe Tartars; who, in his abſence, was deſtroying the country about Amaſia: ſo that in a ſhort time peace was reſtored [k].

He defeats the Hungarians; Muſa Chelebi, alarmed at Mohammed's ſucceſſes, in order to divert him from any attempts againſt the weſtern

i Dukas, cap. 19. k Cant. ubi ſupr. p. 64, 65. 78.

part

part of the empire, offered to resign him all the east; and, to shew that his proposal was sincere, in 814, turned his arms against the Christians. Fortune proving favourable to him, he took the towns of Peraverd and Matruna, in the Morea. Elated with this success, he, next year attempted greater things; and, assembling a stronger army, attacked the Hungarians, under their king Sigismond, near the city of Samandria, not far from the Danube, where they were defeated with great slaughter. It is said that nothing encumbered the enemy so much as the immense quantity of riches they brought with them, so that the janizaries measured the gold and silver, which was found in their tents, in bowls and hats. The rest of the spoil supplied the charge of building a large temple called Jami Atîk, or *the old Jami*, which is inscribed with Musa's name. Hejra 814. A D. 1411.

But this great honour gained to the Turkish arms could not secure Musa Chelebi, otherwise a prince of an excellent disposition, from the frowns of fortune: for, about this time, Korshâh Muluk, and the famous general Ornûs Beg, without any provocation, revolted to Mohammed; signifying to him by letters, that the Othmân empire, weakened by two civil dissensions, would not bear to be governed by two heads; and that the whole army, observing Musa's timorous nature, were of opinion the empire should be conferred on him alone. They therefore desired him to hasten over, promising to put the whole into his possession. *Betrayed by his officers.*

Mohammed Chelebi, at the receipt of these letters, prepared to cross into Europe. On the other hand, Musa assembled his army, in order to secure the straits of Kallipolis before his brother's arrival; but finding his generals only made a shew of fighting, he, in the very heat of the battle, withdrew out of the field, and escaped into Laz Vilayti, or Servia; while Mohammed, prevented by the season from proceeding any farther, returned with his army to winter at Prusa. Musa Chelebi, assisted by his old friend the prince of Servia with warlike stores and forces, returned the same winter into his empire, and became master of Adrianople, which was destitute of a garrison. There he found Korshâh and Ornûs Beg, whom Mohammed left designedly in Europe; and either because he saw that they could not effect their intentions, or influenced by his own merciful temper, he both pardons and receives them into favour. *Defeated by Mohammed.*

But the event shewed, that however good it may be in a prince to pardon, he ought never to trust a traitor: for these ungrateful generals invited Mohammed a second time *Ruined by mercy.*

time to seize the empire; who, coming from Nicea with a greater army, passed the Bosphorus by the permission of the Istambol Kaysari, or Greek emperor, under the walls of Constantinople. The same day he entered the city, and was honourably received by the emperor, who made him rich presents. On the third day he set out for Adrianople, and in the second day's march was met by Korshâh Muluk and Ornûs Beg; who, having withdrawn from thence in the night, fell prostrate at his feet; and kissing the ground, saluted him emperor in the name of the European army.

Taken, and slain.

Musa Chelebi, deserted by his people, resolved to retire to his old sanctuary in Servia: but, being scarce out of the suburbs, he was surprised by Mohammed, who had advanced before with a select band of soldiers. Despair rendering him valiant, he drew up his men, and fought with great bravery; but being overpowered by numbers, at last betook himself to flight, yet was soon overtaken by a horseman, and brought to his brother, who instantly put him to death; after he had administered the Turkish affairs in Europe three years and six months. This event happened in the year of the Hejra 816. Mohammed, to reward the soldier, made him one of his counsellors, and at last advanced him to the prime wazîrship. He afterwards became a famous general [m].

Hejra 816. A.D. 1413.

Designs against Greece.

The story of Musa is told by Dukas very differently in almost every circumstance. This prince, says he, after the death of Musulmân, or Solymân, having assembled all the great men of Thrace, Macedonia, and other provinces, told them, that none but the emperor of the Greeks had brought the Scythians, Persians, and other foreign nations down upon them; that it was not just that Constantinople should extend its empire so wide, and possess so great a number of cities, especially Thessalonika, which had cost his father Bâ-yezîd so much trouble to subdue; that therefore he was resolved, if possible, to take the Mother of Cities, and change the temples of idols into temples of God and their prophet.

Subdues Servia.

His resolution being applauded by the assembly, he marched and subdued Servia, which Stephen, son of Lazarus, abandoned at the news of his approach. There he ravaged the country, carried off the handsomest young men, and put the rest to the sword, feasting his great officers over the dead bodies of Christians.

Besieges Constantinople.

Soon after his return he sent to besiege Thessalonika; and having taken every thing which is beyond the Stry-

[m] Cant. ubi supr. p. 65—68.

mon,

mon, except Seturion, marched towards Conſtantinople. As he found the towns through which he paſſed empty of people, whom Manuel had brought into the metropolis, he reduced them to aſhes. The beſieged were ſo fortunate in their ſallies that they killed three Turks for every friend they loſt; but as Muſa could better ſpare ten ſoldiers than the emperor one, and carried on the attack with great vigour, Manuel ſent to Mohammed his brother, who was at Pruſa, to come to his aſſiſtance, and try to obtain the Othmân empire at the ſame time. Mohammed being arrived with his troops at Skutari, the emperor went with his gallies, and brought him over to Conſtantinople, where he was received with great magnificence. Mahomet having been defeated in two ſallies, intreated Manuel to let him lead his troops towards Adrianople; from which courſe he propoſed more advantage to both their affairs than by continuing in the city. The emperor gave his conſent; and next day Mohmmed ſet out, ſending one half of his forces towards the Euxine ſea, and directing his march with the other half to Adrianople. A.D. 1414. *Mahomet ſent for.*

As ſoon as Muſa was informed of his departure, he purſued the troops which took the route of the Euxine ſea, and came up with them; but, being defeated, his ſoldiers liſted under Mohammed's enſigns. Muſa fled, and fell in a marſh, where he killed an officer of the enemy who purſued him. One of the officer's ſervants, willing to revenge his maſter's death, ran at the prince, and, having cut off one of his arms, went and informed the emperor of what had happened. Muſa had loſt ſo great a quantity of blood from the wound, that when they came to look for him, they found him fallen off his horſe, and dead. The body was carried to Mohammed, who having wept over it, according to cuſtom, ſent it to be buried at Pruſa: then he returned to Adrianople, where he received the homage of the great men [n]. *Muſa defeated, and ſlain.*

We muſt leave the reader to judge at his leiſure, which hiſtory deſerves belief moſt, with regard to the affair in queſtion, the Turkiſh or the Greek; and ſhall only obſerve, that Dukas ſeems to deſerve full credit, eſpecially with regard to the manner of Mohammed's obtaining the crown by means of the emperor Manuel's invitation, as well as of Muſa's death, that author having been upon the ſpot when thoſe affairs happened: his account as to Mohammed appears confirmed by the conſiderable ceſſions *Remark.*

[n] Dukas, cap. 19.

made

made by that soltân to the emperor, and the regard he paid him during his reign.

SECT. VI.

The Reign of Mohammed I.

Hejra 816. A.D. 1413.

Soltân Mohammed I. humbles Karamân and Isfandiar Beg.

MOHAMMED, immediately after the death of his brother Musa, was proclaimed at Adrianople emperor of the Ali Othmân dominions, in the thirty-ninth year of his age: but he was scarce settled on the throne, when he was threatened with deposition; for Karâmân Ogli thinking this a proper juncture, when the Othmâns were embroiled in civil wars, to crush their power, assembled his forces; and laying waste all Bithynia, encamped under the walls of Prusa, burned the suburbs, and closely besieged the city one-and-thirty days. Mohammed, informed of his proceedings, crossed the straights of Kallipolis with his army, and strengthened his forces with those of Sab Beg and Ghermian Ogli; but Karamân having intelligence of his arrival, instantly withdrew from before Prusa: putting on the nekkerkhief (E), and entering the emperor's camp, he confessed his fault on his knees, and asked pardon; which was granted him, on certain conditions.

Next year Mohammed erected at Prusa a large jâmi, imaret, and madreseh, with a spacious khân, or *exchange*, for the use of merchants: but, whilst he thought to take some repose, Karamân, hearing that his forces were dismissed, broke the treaty without cause, and invaded his dominions. The emperor, full of indignation, marched against him with a body of chosen troops, and put him to flight, though he fought bravely. Both the aggressor and his son were taken prisoners, and brought before Mohammed, who, reproaching him for his breach of faith, said, "It was thy part to commit the treachery, and it is mine to act agreeably to my dignity; for it is inconsistent with the imperial honour to return like for like to wicked and profligate men." With these words the emperor dismissed him, and restored him his provinces; only placing

(E) A Turkish phrase, signifying *surrender*, or a *petition for grace and favour*, called man. Hence the saying, he put on the nekkerkhief, that is, *he declared himself his subject for the future*. Cant.

garrisons

garrisons in Sivrihissar, Nukteydak, Enishâhri, Sedi Shâri, Numâd, and Ayn.

Karamân being thus humbled, Mohammed thought proper to chastise Isfindar Beg, prince of Kastamoni, who was his confederate in the expedition. Accordingly, marching against him, he took the principal towns of that country and Janîk. Next year he reduced other places, as Buri, Jigha, Tosia, Bakirkuresi, with Changhîri, where Isfandiar resided, and distributed that prince's treasures among the soldiers. At the same time he built a stately palace at Amasia [f].

Dukas places this transaction somewhat later in time. According to that historian, the emperor Manuel, presently after Mohammed's elevation to the empire, sent some of his chief officers to put him in mind of the promises he had made him while at Constantinople. The new soltân faithfully discharged his engagements, restoring the forts about the Euxine sea and the Propontis, with those of Thessaly; and dismissing the ambassadors, loaded with presents, "Tell the emperor my father (said he) that having been established by his succours and the grace of God in the throne of my ancestors, I shall for the time to come be as obedient to his will as a son ought to be to the will of his father; nor will ever fail to acknowlege his favours. Whatever he orders me to do, I shall execute with pleasure and dispatch." He gave likewise a kind reception to the ambassadors of Servia, Walakhia, Bulgaria, of duke Joannina, the despot of Lacedæmon, and the prince of Akhaia; did them the honour to make them eat at his own table, drank to their health, and at their audience of leave, said, "Tell your masters that I offer them peace; that I accept of that which they offer me; and that I hope the God of peace will punish those who violate the treaty."

A.D. 1414.

Walakhians pay tribute.

Afterwards Manuel, sailing to the Morea, reduced to his obedience the prince of Akhaia, and the Navarrois. Then leaving his son the despot behind, in his return conferred, at Kallipoli, with Soltân Mohammed, who went aboard his galley, and dined with him.

Morea reduced.

Mohammed, having settled the affairs of Europe, passed into Asia, and rebuilt the edifices which had been burned at Prusa by Karamân; who had plundered that city, and burnt the body of Bâ-yezid, in revenge, for having put his father to death at Kogni.

Prusa rebuilt.

[f] Can. ubi supr. p. 72.

Chuneid takes Ephesus.

He afterwards marched against Cineis, who, a little before the soltân had declared himself against his brother Musa, fled from Thrace, and passing into Asia, raised an army of Smyrnians and Thyreans, with which he took Ephesus. The refusal of Cineis to surrender the places which he had seized, was the occasion of this expedition of the soltân; who, having taken from him the city of Cima, the fort of Archangel, called by the Turks, Kaghiasik, situate in the field of Menomena, with the city of Nymphæum, at length sat down before Smyrna, where Cineis had left his mother, his children, and Bâ-yezîd his brother. On the first news of the soltân's arrival, the governors of the neighbouring islands, who hated Cineis, ran to receive him. The princes of Phocea, Karmiân prince of the Higher Phrygia, Mentakhia prince of Karia, the prince of Lesbos, the prince of Khio, the great master of Rhodes, and others, came to wait on him, and were received as kindly as if they had been his brethren. The city being surrendered to him on the tenth day of the siege, in which he was assisted by those princes, he demolished the fortifications, but suffered the inhabitants to remain.

The citadel demolished.

He likewise ordered the citadel to be ruined; which, having been destroyed by Timûr, the grand-master of Rhodes had half rebuilt, in spite of Cineis. He was excited to this measure by the Mohammedans in those parts, who complained that it served to encourage the Ionian slaves to run away from their masters. The great master, who was very angry at his proceeding, threatened to make reprisals on his coasts, unless he suffered him to rebuild that fort. Mohammed answered with great moderation, and, after shewing the necessity there was of destroying that fort, as it was a continual cause of quarrels between the knights of Rhodes and the Turks, gave him leave to build another fort on the borders of Karia and Lycea. He heard no less favourably the demands of the princes of Khio, Lesbos, and the Phoceans, sending them all away well satisfied. He likewise pardoned Cineis, who came and took the oath of fidelity to him. Then giving the government of that province to the son of Alexander Susman, whom he had brought over to his religion, he returned into Europe.

Chuneid Beg submits.

A.D.1419

Turkish fleet destroyed by the Venetians.

When Mohammed came to Kallipoli, he sent a fleet against the duke of Naxos, and other islands in the Archipelago, because he had not been to salute him, either at Smyrna, or since his return. The fleet, consisting of thirty gallies, commanded by Ghiali Beg, landed at the isles of Andros, Paros, and Milos, where they did great mischief.

The

The Venetians in the ſpring came to aſſiſt the duke, who was in their intereſt, with ten gallies, ſeven of which paſſed up the ſtreights of Helleſpont as far as Lampſakus, in order to meet the Turks; who, coming out of the harbour of Kallipolis, the Venetians began the attack on the admiral-galley, and ſlew all the men, with the admiral himſelf: they ſerved the reſt of the veſſels in the ſame manner, in ſight of the wives and children of the Turks, who ſtood on ſhore. In the evening they ſounded a retreat, and carried back to Tenedos twenty-ſeven gallies of the enemy; where they put to death all the Turks, and ſuch Chriſtians as were in their pay.

Next ſpring the Venetian fleet came to attack a tower of Lampſakus, built by Muſulman; but, being hindered from landing by Khamſas, brother of the grand wazîr B-âyezîd, who commanded a body of ten thouſand men, they ſailed to Conſtantinople, after having beat down half of the tower from their ſhips.

A pretended prophet taken and ſlain.

About the ſame time one Preklighia Moſtafa, a Turkiſh peaſant, ſignalized himſelf by preaching up a voluntary poverty, and a community of all things, except women. He wore only a ſingle coat, and went with his head and feet bare. He appeared near the mountain Stilairum, at the mouth of the Ionic gulf, oppoſite the iſle of Khio. His diſciples pretended to be very fond of the Chriſtians, and even to believe the ſame faith. Two of them were ſent by him to an old Greek monk in Kandia; who, after that cried up Preklighia, pretending he was in the ſame monaſtery with himſelf at Samos, and that he croſſed the ſea on foot every day to converſe with him. Suſman's ſon, who had the government of Ionia, marching againſt Preklighiâ, was defeated by the inhabitants of the mountain, who aſſembled to the number of ſix thouſand. They in like manner put to flight Hali Beg, governor of Lydia, and killed a great number of his men.

In conſequence of this diſturbance, ſoltân Mohammed ſent his ſon Amurat, or Morâd, only twelve years old, accompanied by his grand wazîr Bâ-yezîd; who, forcing the paſſes of the mountains with their troops, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, till they came to the place which was guarded by men with one coat, where they met with a ſtout reſiſtance; but, after loſing a great many men, the falſe monk and his diſciples were obliged to ſurrender. They were all put to death, not one of them recanting. The impoſtor himſelf, after enduring various torments, was nailed to a croſs, and carried through the ſtreets of

Ephesus. They believed he would come again; and Dukas, our author, met with a monk who affirmed that he was not dead. Bâ-yezîd led his army back through Asia and Lydia, where he slew all the Turkish monks he met with, who made profession of voluntary poverty.

Morâd at Amasia.

At his return to Adrianople, Mohammed gave his son Morâd, though so young, the government of Amasia, under the direction of an able counsellor, named Georgei Beg. This government bordered on the Persian Turks, who were neighbours to the Zazians and Persians, and lived under the command of Karayuluk, son-in-law of Alexis, emperor of Trebizond [g].

Hejra 820. A.D. 1418.

Let us now in our turn have recourse to the Turkish historians. Mohammed, having weakened his enemies in Asia, repaired to Adrianople, and from thence marched against the Walakhians, whom he routed; then, ravaging the country, took Severin, with the castles of Sakche and Kala, situate beyond the Danube. He likewise fortified Ghirghiow with new works and a garrison; so that the Walakhians could no more pass that river. Being thus pent up, and despairing to preserve their liberty, they submitted to pay an annual tribute; the sons of the prince and three great men being given as hostages: but the fruits of all his victories had like to have been wrested from him by an impostor, the domestic of a petty prince, called Peder Ulledîn, and Semadin Ogli. This man pretending to be Mostafa, Bâ-yezîd's eldest son, who fell in the battle with Timûr, and, being assisted by his master, gathered a numerous band of followers, with whom he destroyed Zagara and the neighbouring countries. Next spring he besieged Nicea; a circumstance which alarming the court, Mohammed crossed over into Asia with his forces. The counterfeit Mostafa raised the siege, and boldly marched with his followers against the emperor; but at the first charge was put to flight, and being taken with his lord, they were both hanged [h].

Walakhians bridled.

Mostafa, an impostor, appears in Walakhia.

This interesting affair is very differently related by Dukas; and, from the circumstances, we should think with more truth. This historian informs us, that in spring Mohammed passed with a great army into Asia (F); and being informed, at his return to Adrianople, that Mosta-

[g] Dukas, cap. 20, & seqq. [h] Cant. ubi. supr. p. 74, & seqq.

(F) This was in his expedition against Karamân, as mentioned in a former note.

fa,

fa, the youngeſt of Bâ-yezîd's ſons was in Walakhia, he ſent two truſty perſons to take off the head of Cineis, whom he had made governor of Nikopolis, on the Danube, in order to defend the frontiers on that ſide: but that crafty traitor had fled beforehand to Moſtafa, and taken the oath of fidelity to him. Theſe two having croſſed the Danube, and entered Theſſaly with a conſiderable force of Turks and Walakhians, Mohammed marched in queſt of them; and, having routed their army, purſued them to the gates of Theſſalonika, where they were very kindly received by Demetrius Laſkaris. Leontarius and Mohammed next day ſent to demand them, threatening otherwiſe to beſiege the city; yet Laſkaris refuſed to comply, without acquainting the emperor with the affair.

Manuel protects him.

The ſoltân at the ſame time wrote to the emperor, deſiring that what had happened might not diſturb the good underſtanding which was between them. Manuel, after having declared that he could not without diſhonour deliver up a refugee, promiſed to detain Moſtafa and Cineis priſoners ſo long as Mohammed lived; who, on the emperor's demand, allowed three hundred thouſand aſpers a year for their maintenance, and gave him liberty to diſpoſe of them after his own death as he, the emperor, ſhould think fit, or his ſucceſſors ſhould deſerve. This agreement was reduced to writing, and confirmed by the emperor's oath. Moſtafa and Cineis were hereupon confined at Conſtantinople; but, for fear they ſhould eſcape, were ſome time after, for more ſecurity, tranſmitted to Lemnos. The ſame author alſo places the invaſion of Walakhia after the rebellion of Moſtafa, as a puniſhment for encouraging his deſigns; but only ſays, the army ſent by Mohammed ravaged that country with fire and ſword, without mentioning its ſubmiſſion to become tributary.

A.D. 1420.

Treacherous interpreter.

At this time a native of Philadelphia, a cunning knave, who, during the Scythian invaſion, informed againſt the rich Chriſtians, many of whom were tortured and put to death, for not paying the ſums demanded, put himſelf into the ſervice of an officer of the court; and, for want of an interpreter, was employed ſoon after in that capacity. By theſe means this perſon, who was called the Theologian, contracted an intimacy with Bâ-yezîd (G), Mohammed's

(G) This Bâ-yezîd, according to Dukas, was an Albanian ſlave, who had followed Mohammed in all his misfortunes. He ſuffered incredible fatigues to ſerve him; when, after the

med's prime wazîr, to whom he betrayed the secrets of the Romans; whereby he arrived to such a degree of honour that he became the emperor's chief interpreter, and often dined with Bâ-yezîd, and Mohammed himself; yet although he was suspected by the Romans, the emperor never had the least distrust of him. But the sudden death of Mohammed ruined all his evil designs [i].

Hejra 824. A.D. 1421.

Mohammed dies.

We must return once more to the Turkish historians, to finish the reign of Mohammed. According to them, the rebellion being quelled, that prince, in 824, took Eski Gheliboli, or Old Kallipolis, Tarkli, and Herghe; but at his return from this expedition he was seized with a dysentery, of which he died. Murâd, his eldest son, whom he had appointed by will for his successor, being then at war with part of the army in Rum-ili, or Thrace, the prime wazîr Ibrahîm (H) concealed the emperor's death for one-and-forty days, in such a manner that not one of the lords of the court had the least intimation of it, whilst he himself directed affairs as if by his master's order. At Morad's return he delivered up to him the army and kingdom. This Ibrahîm is called by the Turks their Ulysses, and had the title of khân given him by the new emperor for this piece of service [k] (I).

His sons.

According to Dukas, when Mohammed was near his end, he sent for his wazîr Bâ-yezîd, and conjured him to set his son Morâd on the throne. The two youngest, one eight, the other but seven years old, he assigned to the care of the emperor Manuel, for fear Morâd should strangle them; as he afterwards did. The soltân thought by these

[i] Dukas, cap. 21, 22.

[k] Cant. ubi supra, p. 76.

death of his father, he was briskly pursued by the forces of Tamerlan in the mountains of Galatia, near Ancyra. His feet being so swelled with walking that he could no longer go, Bâ-yezîd carried him on his shoulders for several days, till he got into his father's dominions. He almost famished himself to supply Mohammed, and went in the habit of a monk through the towns and villages begging bread for him to eat.

(H) Dukas makes two wâzirs, this Ibrahîm and Bâ-yezîd, above mentioned, whom he represents as the prime wâzîr.

(I) Prince Cantemir, in a note, gives a large account of the family of this Ibrahîm Khân, and the great privileges which they enjoy. Among which are those of making use only of concubines instead of wives; of being visited twice a year by the soltân; and of the soltân rising a little from his seat when they enter.

means

means he had ſecured the throne to his eldeſt ſon, and the lives of the younger; while the emperor conceived great hopes of keeping Amurat within bounds, by threatening him with his hoſtages, or making them his friends in caſe they ſucceeded to the Othmân empire; but the event ſhewed that both were miſtaken in their conjectures [l].

Mohammed lived forty-ſeven years, and reigned eight years ten months; a ſoltân famed for juſtice and clemency. He is extolled not only for reſtoring the Othmân empire from the low condition it was reduced to by the invaſion of Timûr, and more deſtructive quarrel of his brothers; but alſo for leaving it enlarged to his ſucceſſors [m]. *Reign and character.*

SECT. VII.

The Reign of Morâd II.

MORAD was but eighteen years of age in 825, when his father died, and he aſcended the throne. Soon after his elevation, an obſcure perſon aſſumed the name of Moſtafa, ſon of Bâ-yezîd. This man, who firſt appeared about Salonîki, or Theſſalonica, ſoon gained ſo much credit, that he perſuaded not only the common people, but the European ſoldiers, with many officers, that he was the very perſon he pretended to be. After he had allured to his intereſt all Rumelia, and aſſembled a conſiderable army, he, with the connivance of the Greek emperor, paſſed into Aſia, in order to ſeize Pruſa, the ſeat of the Othmân empire. Hejra 825. A.D. 1422. *Morâd II.*

Morad ſent the prime wazîr Bâ-yezîd into Aſia, with choſen troops, to ſtifle the flame in its birth; but being met by Moſtafa, he was killed, and his army routed. The ſoltân upon this diſaſter, repaired to Seyd Bekhar, a holy man, who, in the opinion of the Turks, could obtain of God whatever he prayed for; and deſired his mediation for a bleſſing on his arms. The ſaint having gained his point by the interceſſion of Mohammed the prophet, girt the ſoltân with a ſword, and ſent him forth with a "Go on and proſper, moſt auguſt emperor, for victory attends you." Morâd, on this encouragement, led his army againſt the counterfeit Moſtafa; who undauntedly waited his coming near Ulubâd, the bridge of which he ordered to be broken down. The ſoltân encamped on the other ſide *Another Moſtafa riſes;*

[l] Dukas, cap. 22. [m] Cant. ubi ſupra, p. 77.

of the river, in expectation of the promised assistance from heaven, and perhaps to extinguish by delay the first heat of sedition. However that be, on the seventh day of this suspension of hostilities the impostor was seized with a violent bleeding of the nose, which held him three days. His soldiers, considering this accident as sent from God to blast his designs, deserted him in the night. This defection obliged him to follow; but not being able, by reason of his great weakness, caused by loss of blood, to fly fast enough, he was overtaken, extremely ill, in the town of Kara Agaj, by Morâd; by whose command he was instantly beheaded [n].

is put to death.

The history of Mostafa, and the occasion of his appearance, may be better understood, we conceive, from the Greek than the Turkish historians; who seem to have concealed some facts, and altered others, to serve their partial views. According to Dukas, Mohammed being interred at Prusa, and Amurat proclaimed, their next care was to secure peace in the East, by a treaty with Karamân, and then settle matters with the emperor. But Manuel prevented them, by sending ambassadors to compliment Morâd, and demand his two brothers, of whom he was left guardian by Mohammed's will. They had orders also to let him know, that if he refused, they had another successor to establish in his place, who would soon be master of Macedonia and Thrace, as well as of Asia and the East. The emperor communicated this design to Mostafa himself.

The emperor disobliged,

Bâ-yezîd answered, in the name of the young soltân, that they were very desirous to preserve peace with the emperor; but could not consent to deliver the children, as it was contrary both to reason and the laws of their prophet, to suffer the sons of Musulmâns to be educated by kaburs (K). The emperor, piqued at this answer, resolved to act pursuant to the conditions on which he had received Mostafa: accordingly he sent Demetrius Laskaris Leontarius with six gallies to Lemnos, to bring up that prince and Cineis, and then with the troops which were in the gallies to make him governor of Thrace.

sets up Mostafa on certain conditions.

On this occasion Mostafa swore never to act contrary to the emperor's will, to obey him as a father, and give his

[n] Cant p 78—81.

(K) A corruption of gaurs; that is, *infidels*; for so they call Christians.

son

ſon in pledge of his performance. He promiſed likewiſe to deliver Kallipolis in the Kherſoneſus, the countries adjoining to the Euxine Sea as far as Walakhia, and certain places of Theſſaly as far as Eriſſus and Mount Athos; which, however, it was no eaſy matter for him to give, becauſe he was firſt to take them from the enemy. The conditions being agreed to, they ſailed for Kallipolis; which city, upon a ſpeech made by Moſtafa, mixed with promiſes and threats, ſurrendered. Then, leaving Cineis to attack the citadel, he marched to Hexamilion, where he was ſaluted ſovereign by all the country.

Moſtafa defeats and kills Bâ-yezîd.

When news of this event were brought to Pruſa, the great men about Amurat adviſed him to ſend Bâ-yezîd, whom they hated for his pride as well as good fortune, againſt Moſtafa. The wazîr having poſted to Adrianople, raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men; and had not marched far from the city, when he was informed by his ſcouts, that Moſtafa, who advanced at the head of very numerous forces by the way of Kariopolis, a very populous city lately built by the Turks, was near at hand. The armies being in ſight, Bâ-yezîd made a ſpeech againſt Moſtafa; telling them, that he heard the grand ſeignor ſay that he was not the real ſon of Iltrim Bâ-yezîd; but an impoſtor. Moſtafa, on the other hand, leaving the command of the army to Cineis, one of the moſt brave and able commanders of his time, retired to an eminence, and from thence harangued the enemy; telling them, among other things, that it would be eaſy to make it appear he was the ſon of Ilterîm, and was ready to decide the diſpute with his nephew Amurat by ſingle combat. He afterwards exhorted them, with promiſes of great rewards, to join his intereſts.

This ſpeech had ſuch an effect, that the generals who commanded the two wings of the enemy's army, went over to him. Bâ-yezîd, finding things take ſo ſtrange a turn, thought it his ſafeſt way to ſubmit too; and, alighting from his horſe, with his brother Kamzas, went and threw himſelf at the feet of Moſtafa. But Cineis, who owed him a grudge, ordered him to be carried out of the camp, and beheaded; ſaying at the time of execution, "Wicked as you are, you cauſe men to be deprived of thoſe parts which make them men;" for he had formerly ordered Adulas, Cineis's ſon-in-law, to be caſtrated: however he ſpared Kamzas on account of his youth, and made him his ſlave, little thinking that he would prove his ruin. Moſtafa on this ſucceſs marched to Adrianople, where he was joyfully received; and the garriſon of the fortreſs of Kallipolis,

Kallipolis, deſpairing to defend themſelves, gave it up by capitulation.

By Chuneid's advice breaks his promiſe with the emperor.

Demetrius Leontarius, who expected to be put immediately into poſſeſſion of the place, according to agreement, was landing the arms and ammunition out of the galley to carry them into the citadel, when Cineis arrived unexpectedly; and, ſeeing the Turks uneaſy at ſo ſudden an alteration, told Demetrius very roundly, that he was not to imagine that they had fought and run ſo many dangers for his ſake; or expect that they would give up the citadels and towns: that he ought to be content with ſome preſents for his ſervices, and be well ſatisfied that they ſuffered him to return to Conſtantinople; conſidering the ill treatment they had received at Lemnos, and the outrages committed by the monks of a Pammakariſte monaſtery.

Demetrius, no leſs irritated than ſurpriſed at this diſcourſe of Cineis, who had no buſineſs, he ſaid, to take upon him to talk in ſuch a ſtrain of matters which did not belong to him, went immediately on board his gallies, and waited for the anſwer of Moſtafa. This latter ſoon after came on board, and made an apology for not delivering up Kallipolis; alleging, that it was better to break his oath than injure religion, by putting the pious and faithful into the hands of the wicked and infidels; or ſubjecting a people, who ſerve the Deity, under the dominion of others, who are perfect ſtrangers to the God of heaven and earth. He added, that, ſhould he commit ſuch a horrid impiety, the Muſulmâns would not ſuffer him to reign over them.

Demetrius heard this diſcourſe with impatience *. He reproached the Othmân family with breach of faith; he ſaid, Or Khân kept neither his treaties nor oaths: that Iltrîm Bayezîd imitated his perfidy, and was puniſhed for it, as well as Muſulmân and Muſa his (Moſtafa's) two brothers: that none but his brother Mahammed had obſerved his treaties, and found an eaſy death; that he could not long eſcape divine vengeance, if he did not alter his conduct. Then he put him in mind of his obligations to the emperor; telling him, that he would have been ſtrangled, if Manuel had delivered him up to his brother Mahomet: that the Romans had, for his ſake, borne the reproach of doing what was unjuſt and criminal; but that, however, they had aſſiſted him, and even

* Dukas, cap. 24.

raiſed

raiſed him to the throne. Demetrius after this expoſtulation, ſet ſail for Conſtantinople [p].

The emperor Manuel, grieved as well as enraged at this diſappointment, at length ſent to Morâd; offering to re-eſtabliſh his intereſt, provided he would perform his father's will, and give him his two young brothers in hoſtage. Mean while Moſtafa, having put things in order at Kallipolis, returned to Adrianople: where, finding in his brother's palace ineſtimable treaſures, as well as beautiful women, he gave himſelf up to pleaſure; while Amurat, who was not yet turned of twenty, committed the ſame kinds of exceſſes at Pruſa. However, he did not ſo wholly abandon himſelf to voluptuouſneſs as to neglect the means of recovering what was loſt. He had ſtill a great number of able counſellors about him; who, being informed of Moſtafa's indolence, and in what manner he had ſerved Leontarius, adviſed him to ſend Abraham or Ibrahîm, ſon of Ali, a wiſe and virtuous man, who ſucceeded Bâ-yezîd as prime wazîr, ambaſſador to Conſtantinople. Being admitted to audience, after mentioning the aſſiſtance which he had given Mohammed againſt Muſa, he deſired that the emperor would afford Amurat the ſame ſuccour; promiſing in recompence to deliver whatever he ſhould demand, excepting Kallipolis and his two brothers: but, as the emperor would not agree to thoſe exceptions, the ambaſſador ſtaid a long time at Conſtantinople without doing any thing.

Moſtafa grows indolent.

In the mean time Cineis, being informed of the preparations made by Amurat, and that he had not only ſent an embaſſy to the emperor, but had obtained a promiſe from John Adorno, governor of new Focea, to aſſiſt him with ſhips to tranſport his forces into Europe, he reproached Moſtafa with neglecting his affairs; adviſed him to prevent the enemy, and paſs the ſtraits with numerous forces. As ſoon as Amurat knew that Moſtafa had taken the field, he marched to Lopadion with a ſmall army. Beſides other good officers, he had with him Hamza Beg, brother of Cineis, who had followed him from his youth. As they arrived firſt at the bridge, they broke it down; ſo that Moſtafa, not being able to croſs the marſh, encamped on the ſide of it. By this expedient, Amurat gained time to aſſemble his forces, while Moſtafa could neither paſs the moraſs, which was

[p] Dukas, cap. 23, & ſeq.

deep,

deep, nor march round it, on account of the length of the way and interposition of mountains.

Deserted by Chuneid, who takes Smyrna.

The two armies being situated in such a manner as not to be able to offend each other, some of Amurat's officers told Hamza, that in case his brother Cineis could be prevailed on to quit Mostafa's interest, they would procure the province of Atin for him and his descendants, only swearing fealty to Amurat. Next night Hamza sent one of his servants, who, by passing over the marsh, got to the tent of Cineis, and proposed an interview from his brother. They met at the place appointed. Cineis was not well pleased that they should offer him for his friendship nothing but what was his own before: however, he told his brother, that since he had taken the trouble to come to talk to him about the affair, he would for the future serve Amurat faithfully, and fulfil his promise next night; adding that if it had not been for his coming, he intended to have gone into Ionia, and perhaps have come to blows with Atin's grandson.

The night following, Cineis, having ordered candles to be lighted up in his tent, departed secretly with seventy chosen men, and made such haste, that he arrived at Smyrna in the close of the next day; where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. Mostafa, Atin's grandson, being informed of this defection, marched from Ephesus, with design to give him battle: but Cineis, having assembled about two thousand Turks, his ancient friends, in that neighbourhood, met the enemy at Mausalion, and defeated them, killing Mostafa himself with a blow of his iron mace. Hereupon his troops submitted, and conducted the victor in triumph to Ephesus; where he ordered the corpse of the dead prince to be buried in the tower with those of his ancestors [q].

Mostafa flies.

As soon as the flight of Cineis was known in the camp of the other Mostafa, the army, concluding he was gone over to Amurat, began to retreat in great confusion; while the enemy cried out to them, dur, dur katlan; that is, *stop, and do not fly*: for as the bridge was broken, they could not come near them. However, Amurat, having repaired it the same day with long beams of timber, got out and pursued the enemy, many of whom joined him; while Mostafa, posting to Lampsakus, crossed over to Kallipolis with only four servants, and there began

[q] Dukas, cap. 25.

to

to make freſh levies. Mean while Amurat diſpatched a courier to Focea, to inform Adorno of what had happened, and order him to repair to the ſtraits with all his ſhips; which being ready, were at Lampſakus as ſoon as the ſoltân. This prince with his troops immediately went on board, to the great chagrin of Muſtafa: who, ſeeing ſeven great ſhips with a number of barks advancing towards his coaſt, ſent to offer Adorno fifty thouſand crowns not to land Amurat in Europe; an offer which he refuſed. In ſpite of oppoſition he put on ſhore five hundred Franks at Kallipolis; who advancing a mile from the coaſt, gave opportunity to Amurat to land with the reſt of the troops; which, falling on the enemy, ſoon routed them, with great ſlaughter. Moſtafa retired to Adrianople; and, carrying off the treaſure, fled into Walakhia.

Taken, and ſlain.

Amurat, having ſtaid three days at Kallipolis, haſted to Adrianople, at the head of a numerous army. There he feaſted Adorno and his two thouſand Italians; remitted him the arrears due for alum (L); gave him the fort of Peritheorion in the weſt; and the commerce of Focea for life. He likewiſe gave them all preſents, and, with the greateſt teſtimonies of gratitude, ſent them home. At the ſame time, to purſue his blow, he ſent ſeveral bold young men after Moſtafa; who, coming up with him at the Danube, brought him back to the city. Amurat ordered him to be hanged in the public market-place, to confirm by the ignominy of his puniſhment the common opinion of people, that he was no other than an impoſtor ſet up by the emperor Manuel; although in reality he was the ſon of Bâ-yezîd [r].

Karaman Ogli chaſtiſed.

Let us now return to the Turkiſh account. The rebellion being thus quaſhed, the ſoltân reſolved to chaſtiſe Karamân Ogli, named Mehemed Beg; who, on the wazîr Ba-yezîd's defeat before mentioned, thinking the Othmân affairs in a deſperate ſtate, reſolved to ſeize part at leaſt of Morâd's dominions. With this view he attacked Andalia, in hopes it would quickly ſurrender for want of relief: but, being killed from the walls by a cannon ball, the Karmanians choſe another general of the ſame name, and haſtily raiſed the ſiege.

[r] Dukas, cap. 27.

(L) This alum is got in a mountain to the eaſt of New Focea; of which Dukas gives a large account, cap. 25.

Gamze

Gamze Beg, governor of the city, ſeeing the enemy retiring in diſorder, ſallied out to purſue them. In taking the enemy's camp he found Othmân Beg, ſovereign of Tekke, who was come to Karamân's aſſiſtance, juſt dead of an acute diſtemper. He cauſed his head to be cut off, and then ſubdued his territories.

Moſtafa's rebellion. Morâd at his return to Adrianople intended to ſettle the ſtate of the empire; but was prevented by the rebellion of his younger brother Moſtafa Chelebi: who, allured by the deceitful counſels of the Greeks, rebelled in Aſia, ſeized Nicea, but weakly garriſoned; and, being ſupplied with all neceſſaries by his abettors, ſtrongly fortified the place. Not daring to meet his brother in the field, he ſhut himſelf up in that city: but, being vigorouſly beſieged by Morâd, on the twenty-fifth day, it was taken, with his brother; whom he ordered to be ſtrangled in his preſence [s].

Conſtantinople beſieged. Dukas, ſays that Morâd, having aſcended the throne in the beginning of winter, made great preparations to beſiege Conſtantinople. Hereupon John Paleologus, to whom for a long time Manuel, on account of his great age, had left the management of affairs, ſent ambaſſadors to try to make up the breach between the two courts, laying the fault on the late wazir Ba-yezîd, who had refuſed to put the two young princes into the emperor's hands, purſuant to their father's will: but Morâd, without hearing or even ſeeing thoſe ambaſſadors, kept them till all things were ready for the ſiege, and then diſmiſſed them; ſaying, "Aſſure your maſter that I will be with him preſently." In ſhort, not many days after their diſmiſſion, he inveſted Conſtantinople with two hundred thouſand men. The inhabitants ſuſpecting that Korax the Theologian, had contrived ſome plot againſt the city, to be revenged for not being ſent with the ambaſſadors to the Turkiſh court, with which he kept a cloſe correſpondence; the emperor Manuel, to remove thoſe ſuſpicions, and appeaſe the tumult, ſent Korax to Morâd, to diſpoſe him to peace.

Korax ſuſpected. Some ſay he was able to obtain no terms in the emperor's favour: others pretend that he promiſed to deliver up the city, on condition of having the government of it; and that one of his intimate friends heard the propoſal. In effect, after he had given an account of his embaſſy, the perſon who had diſcovered the treaſon declared it, and

[s] Cant. Othmân Hiſt. p. 82, & ſeq.

pro-

produced his witneſſes. Hereupon the emperor commanded both parties to be confined till next day; and, at the requeſt of the Kandiots, who were his guards, delivered Korax to be examined by them, and condemned, if culpable. After having forced a confeſſion by torture, they carried him before the palace gate, and plucked out his eyes, with unheard-of inhumanity. He died three days after in priſon. His rich moveables were pillaged by the populace, and his houſe was burned. Morâd was greatly concerned at the death of Korax. Being informed, that Mikhael Pilla, a native of Epheſus of noble deſcent, but of very profligate morals, was the only occaſion of it, the Turks ſeized, and would have burned him, if he had not ſaved his life by turning Mohammedan. *Cruelly butchered.*

Although Manuel was almoſt reduced to death by extreme weakneſs, yet he ſtudied how to embarraſs Amurat. This ſoltân having put to death one of his two brothers, Eliaz, cup-bearer to his father, fled with the other named Moſtafa, into Paphlagonia. The old emperor, being informed of this incident, ſent to Eliaz to bring the young king to Pruſa, and remitted him money to raiſe troops. While Amurat amuſed himſelf with preparing machines, and making ſlight ſkirmiſhes before Conſtantinople, a courier brought him news, that Moſtafa was acknowleged ſoltân by the inhabitants of Pruſa, and that Eliaz had carried him to Nicea; hereupon he broke up the ſiege, and returned to Adrianople. At which time Manuel, a very mild and wiſe prince, died, and left the empire to his ſon John; who, though the laſt of the Roman emperors in order of time, was of the firſt on account of his merit. A.D.1424. *Moſtafa's rebellion.*

Amurat ſtaid but three days at Adrianople, when, taking with him a ſmall number of horſe and foot, he paſſed over ſecretly into Aſia: approaching Nicea, he gave notice to his friends in that city, who, having raiſed a tumult in his favour, opened the gates, and received him with his followers. There ſeizing his brother Moſtafa, no more than ſix years old, he had him ſtrangled, and his guards ſlain. He ordered the body, after he had viewed it, to be carried to Pruſa, there to be buried. Thus far Dukas [t]. *Taken and ſtrangled.*

In 827, Morâd married the daughter of Laz Ogli, the Helena of the Servians, and of her time. Next year he *Iſfandiyar Beg defeated.*

[t] Dukas, cap. 28.

marched

marched againſt Isfandiar Beg, prince of Sinab, or Sinope; who, fearing the Othmân power, reſolved to weaken it. As he could not do it by force, he tried policy. To amuſe Morâd he made peace with him, and gave his ſon Kaſsîm Beg in hoſtage; but as ſoon as the ſoltân had diſbanded his army, he ruſhed out with forces he had long been preparing, and deſtroyed the neighbouring cities of Tarakli and Burni. Morâd inſtantly aſſembled his troops, and paſſing into Aſia, was met at Bolova by the nobles of Sinab; who, diſclaiming the raſhneſs of their prince, intreated him to depoſe Isfandiar Beg, and make his hoſtage ſon their governor. Isfandiar Beg, alarmed at this unexpected proceeding, repaired forthwith to the ſoltân, begged pardon, and offered his ſecond ſon in hoſtage, with his only daughter, of incomparable beauty, in marriage, and thus the ſtorm was appeaſed.

Smyrna taken.

Morâd, in his return from this expedition, took Ivmîr, or Smyrna, and the adjacent countries of Monteſha, Aydîn, and Sarikhân, with all the territories belonging to Hamid Ogli [u].

Chuneid Beg ſummoned.

To this time muſt be referred Morad's expedition againſt Chuneid Beg, or Cineis, though not mentioned by Saadi Effendi. The ſoltân, ſays Dukas, on his return to Adrianople, ſtudied how to reduce Cineis; to whom he diſpatched an order, requiring him to ſend his ſon to him immediately according to agreement, in caſe he deſired to preſerve his friendſhip; for that he was going to paſs the Danube; letting him know, if he diſobeyed, that he would treat him as it ſhould pleaſe God. Cineis only returned this ſhort anſwer, "Do what pleaſes yourſelf, the ſucceſs depends on God."

He is defeated.

When the ſoltân had aſſembled all his forces, he placed at the head of them one Halil, or Khalil, a Roman by birth, who had eſpouſed the ſiſter of the wazîr Bâ-yezîd, ſlain by Cineis. This laſt, hearing that Halil was on his march to Philadelphia, advanced to meet him as far as Thiatyra. His youngeſt ſon, named Kûrt, or *the Wolf*, began the battle by attacking the main body of the ſoltan's army; which opening to let them paſs, received no damage. Halil, preſuming that the young unexperienced commander would return the ſame way, ordered his ſoldiers to hide their white turbans. Mean time Cineis ſtood ready to attack the front of Halil's army, while his ſon Kûrt charged them in the rear. As this laſt re-

[u] Cant. ubi ſupra, p. 87.

turned

turned with a slow pace, slaying all in his way, he heard the sound of trumpets, and saw upon a hill troops, with ensigns resembling his father's, who, he concluded, had routed the enemy: but finding, when he drew near, that they were Halil's troops, he fled, and, being hotly pursued, was taken.

As soon as this circumstance was known to Cineis, he retired with his army towards the mountains of Smyrna; and arrived at length at Hypsela, a small city on the Ionian Sea, over against Samos, where he had ships and military stores ready to serve him in case of need. Halil sent Kûrt to Morâd, who imprisoned him and his uncle Hamza; and making Halil governor of the province he had reduced, sent Kamza, his brother-in-law, the brother of Bâ-yezîd, the late wazîr, to command the army in his room, with orders to pursue Cineis. Mean while Cineis went to Amorium, with a view to persuade Karamân, soltân of Kogni, to join him against Morâd; but as that prince could not trust him since his desertion to Musulmân, the other could not prevail. However, he obtained of him a large sum of money and five hundred men. *Flies to Karamân.*

With this supply Cineis returned to Hypsela, and held out bravely against the enemy, who amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their general, Kamza, finding that he made no progress against a fort which stood on a hill, desired Morân to send him some Genoese vessels to attack the place by sea, toward which it lay open. Adorno being dead, Palavicini undertook the affair; and appearing before the place with three ships, struck the inhabitants with terror. Cineis finding that his soldiers began to mutiny, sent to offer to surrender the place to Halil, who commanded in Kamza's absence, on condition that he should save his life, and either carry or send him to Morâd. These terms being sworn to, Cineis and his brother Bâ-yezîd, waited on Halil, who received them civilly, and gave them a tent to repose in. But Kamza, returning to the camp in the evening, and being informed by Halil of what had happened, sent four executioners, who knocked Cineis on the head while he was asleep, and cut off the head of his brother, not sparing a little child of his. As soon as those heads arrived at Adrianople, Amurat sent to inflict the same punishment on Kûrt and his uncle Hamza, which put an end to the family of Cineis[w]. *Returns to Hypsela.* *Yields, and is slain.*

[w] Dukas, cap. 28.

Hejra 830. A.D. 1426. Let us now return to the Turkish historians. The East being thus quieted, in 830 he turned his arms against the Venetians, laid waste the island of Zante, took the castle called Ghiogherjinlik, or *Pigeon-house*, and returned to Adrianople with great spoils. The same year, near Erghene, he ordered to be built, at a vast expence, a bridge of stone with seventy-two arches, and on the west side a jami, bath, imaret, and khân.

Venetians attacked.

A.D. 1427. In the year 831, Ghermian Ogli repaired to Morâd's court, and voluntarily delivered to him the keys of all his towns. In return, the soltân loaded him with royal presents, and made him perpetual sanjâk of Ipsalam.

Ghermian Ogli's surrender.

In order to subdue what yet remained in Greece, under the dominion of the emperor of Constantinople, he assembled both his Asiatic and European forces; with which, meeting no opposition, he reduced Thessalonika, Athens, and Kartineh. All Greece being thus subdued, he, with a great number of captives and cattle, returned to Adrianople [x].

Greece subdued.

Here again the Greek historian must be called in to supply the deficiency, if not to rectify the mistakes of the Turkish. At the time that Amurat sent an army against Cineis, he dispatched ambassadors into Walakhia and Servia, to notify his advancement, and concluded a peace with the waywodes of those countries; but conceived an irreconcileable hatred against the emperor John. Not being able to take Constantinople, he turned his arms against the Morea, and the maritime places about the mouth of the Strymon. He sent also a numerous army to invest Thessalonika, and ruin the neighbouring parts about that city and Setunion. However, at length, the emperor obtained a peace, by giving up to him the cities and towns on the Euxine Sea; likewise the forts, which he had not been able to take by force, as Mesembria, Derkos, Setunion, and some others on the Strymon; besides which he was to pay him three hundred thousand aspers yearly.

Emperor pays tribute.

The soltân, being now freed from enemies, passed over to Prusa, and from thence marched to Ephesus, where he received ambassadors from all parts. The Venetians were the only Christian nation who sent none. The reason was this: during the time that the despot Andronicus, third son of the emperor Manuel, com-

[x] Cant. p. 84.

manded

manded at Theſſelonika, after Moſtafa had left Lemnos, and before Amurat beſieged Conſtantinople, Theſſalonika was ſo ſtraightly beſieged by the governors of the neighbouring Turkiſh provinces, that the inhabitants, reduced to the laſt extremity, without hopes of relief, againſt the will of the deſpot, ſent and delivered up the city to the Venetians. The Turks, enraged to ſee the prey thus ſnatched out of their hands, redoubled their attacks, and the ſcarcity beginning to be very great in the city, the Venetians, fearing that the inhabitants, preſſed with hunger, would drive them out again, and receive the Turks, ſent off the principal citizens to different parts of their dominions, under pretence that there were not proviſions in the place ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence, and put ſeveral to death in their paſſage, as guilty of treaſon.

The Venetians attacked.

When Morâd returned to Adrianople, the Venetians ſent to demand peace of him; but he anſwered that he would grant them none, unleſs they would abandon Theſſalonika. Soon after he diſpatched Kamza, with the troops of the Eaſt, to beſiege that city; and followed in perſon to be preſent at the general aſſault. The garriſon being in no proportion to the compaſs of the walls, and the beſiegers at leaſt a hundred to one, they ſcaled them without much oppoſition; and opening the gates, let in the whole army: who plundered the town, enſlaved the inhabitants, and committed all ſorts of violences. The Venetians, apprehenſive of loſing Eubea alſo, on Amurat's return to his capital, made it their buſineſs to conclude a peace with him.

A D. 1429.

Saloniki taken.

At this time Dragul, a natural ſon of Miltza, late waywod of Walakhia, entering that country with ſome young men, whom he picked up at Conſtantinople, where he ſerved the emperor as a ſoldier, in a little time grew very formidable by the numbers which joined him; and marching againſt Dam, the nephew of Miltza, the then waywod, defeated him, and, having cut off his head, uſurped the ſtate. Amurat, who had made peace with Dam on his paying a ſmall tribute, incenſed at this outrage, proclaimed a brother of the deceaſed for his ſucceſſor, and ſent him into Walakhia with a conſiderable force; but Dragul raiſing a great army, defeated and killed him alſo. Thus far Dukas [y].

Dragul ſeizes Walakhia.

In 838, Karamân Ogli Ibrahim Beg rebelled in Aſia; where Morâd, croſſing over with his forces, took Ak-

Hejra 838. A.D. 1434.

Karamân rebels.

[y] Cap. 28, & ſeq.

shahri and Koniyah, each at the first attack. Ibrahîm Beg, finding himself too weak to resist the imperial army, by the intercession of Menla Gamzeh, at that time the most celebrated saint among the Turks, was pardoned and restored to his former state [z].

Defeats Mora Krâli, and the Hungarians.

The affairs of Asia being settled, in 839, a new enemy arose in Europe. Mora Krâli, brother of the Greek emperor (M), as he was besieging Ghiogherjinlik, beforementioned, Kasîm Basha, beglerbeg of Rum-eli, with a select band of men, unexpectedly attacked and put him to flight; slaying or taking most of his soldiers, with the spoils of their camp.

Mean while fierce war broke out with the king of Hungary, whose forces prevailed oftener than the Turkish. At last, Mikhal ali Beg, the brave Othmân general, unexpectedly invading the country, over-ran the richer provinces, carried away the inhabitants, and returned with great booty (N). The Hungarians, taking Ali Beg's departure for a flight, rushed again into the Turkish dominions; destroying all with fire and sword. Morâd, to check their boldness, after passing the Danube near Widdin, and laying waste the country, attempted to take Belgrade, the great bulwark of Hungary: but the brave defence of the garrison, and the approach of winter, forced him to raise the siege. However, in his way back, he subdued Sofia, with some other towns of Bulgaria.

Attacks Belgrade.

Morad was the more concerned at his disappointment before Belgrade, as he judged it owing not so much to the valour of the besieged, as to the treachery of Vâlak Ogli; who was nearly allied to him by blood, and shared his friendship. On examination, it appeared, that he had not only discovered the Othmân counsels to the king of Hungary; but also done his utmost to prevent the reduction of Belgrade. The soltân, therefore, to punish his perfidy, first commanded the eyes of his two hostage-sons

Subdues Servia.

[z] Cant. p. 85.

(M) He seems to have been the despot Demetrius; who about that time, according to Phranza, governed the greater part of the Morea. He is called the emperor's brother from the affinity he had with him. His affinity was that of brother to John Paleologus; who then reigned.

(N) The Christian annals ascribe glorious victories in those days to John Huniades, general of the Hungarians; but mention nothing of Mikhal Ogli's irruption into Hungary, and the calamities which attended it.

to

to be put out: then, marching with an army into Servia, took the city of Semendra, on the Danube, seized the territory of Zerîn Ogli, and subjected the whole country to his dominion. Valak Ogli, escaping by flight, excited the king of Hungary (O) against the Turks, and broke off a treaty of peace; whereby he became the occasion of the following slaughters, and that king's death [b]. Let us now hear what the Greek historians record of this expedition.

Peace with Servia.

Amurat being informed that Stephen, despot of Servia, the son of Lazarus, and brother-in-law of Bâ-yezîd, was dead, sent ambassadors to his successor George, son of Vulk (P), to demand Servia; because Stephen had left no children, excepting a nephew of his sister Mary. George, to avoid a war, gave the Soltân his sister in marriage, with part of Servia, and a prodigious sum of money; and in return obtained leave to build a fort upon the Danube, called Sendrew.

Enters Hungary.

While Amurat was at Prusa on his expedition against Karamân; Dragul, waywod of Walakhia, waited on him, and offered to give him a passage into Hungary as often as he would; also to conduct him to the borders of Germany and Russia. The Soltân, pleased with those tenders of service, caressed him extremely, made him sit at table with him, and gave presents not only to him but to all his attendants. Towards the end of spring, Amurat, having passed the Danube at Nikopolis, was gladly received by Dragul; who, in four days, conducted him to the frontiers of Hungary, which was all a desert, the inhabitants having, on his approach, abandoned the towns and villages. Being arrived near Zipene, they durst not attempt it. The inhabitants, far from being afraid, set open their gates, and sallied out upon them. Having therefore no prospect of success, they repassed the Danube, and Amurat returned to Adrianople.

A.D. 1429.

A.D. 1436.

Invades Servia.

Soon after this incursion he sent to demand of George, despot of Servia, the fort of Sendrew, which he had built. The despot remonstrating, that he had a right to it by the faith of treaties, the soltân besieged it; and, in three months, took it on capitulation. The eldest son of the

[b] Cant. p. 85, & seqq.

(O) Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland, chiefly known by the slaughter at Varna, Cant.

(P) Hence called by the Turkish writers Valak Ogli, or the son of Valak; that is, Vulk.

despot, who was in the place, was afterwards, with his brother, then at court, sent to Amastris, and had their eyes put out by the wazîr's advice. The same summer he took Novopride, and returned to Adrianople: there Dragul, coming to pay his respects to the Soltân, was sent in irons to the tower of Kalliopolis; under pretence, that he designed to have betrayed him in Hungary. Some time after, on his giving his two sons in hostage, and taking a new oath of fidelity, he was released.

Besieges Belgrade. In the beginning of next spring, Amurat, raising a numerous army, marched to besiege Belgrade; which George, despot of Servia, having been apprehensive of, had given to the Hungarians, who were more powerful than he, and better able to defend it. The soltân made great efforts against the city; but after six months siege, both by land and water, instead of gaining any advantage, lost abundance of his soldiers, not only by the plague, but by engines cast in the form of tubes; which, by means of a dust, composed of nitre, sulphur and charcoal, shot out balls of lead, five or ten together, each as big as a walnut (Q).

A.D. 1438. *Emperor in Italy.* The emperor John this year sailed to Italy, with the patriarch Joseph, and the other prelates, to assist at the council of Florence, in order to unite the Greek and Latin churches. The pope was at the whole expence of the voyage, and the decree of the union was signed: but the Greeks, at their return, recanted, although some of the archbishops would not put pen to paper till the money promised them was paid down. Reports having been spread in the emperor's absence, that he was gone to stir up the Christian princes against the Turks, he, at his return, sent ambassadors to Amurat, to assure him of the contrary; and that he intended inviolably to preserve the peace.

Hungarian invasion. In the mean time the despot, George, perceiving that the enemy advanced daily into his dominions, applied for succour to the queen of Hungary; who governed during the minority of her son. The queen, considering, that if the Turks were suffered to subdue Servia, they would invade her dominions next, ordered her general, John Huniades, to assist him. As the despot had a great treasure, they soon raised twenty-five thousand men, both horse

(Q) The reader must see, that guns and powder are here to be understood. This is the first time the Greeks seem to have heard of either.

and

and foot; and, croſſing the Danube, advanced to Sofia; which they burned, with the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, caſting the ſpoil into the river. Amurat, who had not time to aſſemble the troops of the Eaſt, advanced with thoſe of the Weſt. Both armies approached a town midway between Sofia and Philippopolis, called by the Bulgarians Iſlatu, that is, *Gold*, through very difficult roads.

Servia reſtored.

The Turks, perceiving the Hungarian camp, durſt not deſcend into the plain. Hereupon the enemy, encouraged by their fear, aſcended the mountain through clouds of arrows; but both parties, finding the ſituation incommodious for fighting, retired to their former poſts. Then Amurat, reflecting that the Hungarians, who had never before croſſed the Danube, had paſſed it this time to aſſiſt the deſpot of Servia, reſtored all the places he had taken from him, and even the fort of Sendrew: he likewiſe ſent him his two ſons, who had been deprived of their ſight. He moreover reſtored Dragul's ſons; and concluded a peace with the queen of Hungary and king of Poland, as guardian of the young king: whereby it was ſtipulated, that the Hungarians ſhould not croſs the Danube to make war againſt the Turks, nor the Turks paſs it to make war on the Hungarians [c].

Hejra 845. A.D. 1442.

Karamân Ogli's invaſion.

In 845, Karamân Ogli Ibrahîm Beg, the inveterate enemy of the Othmân empire, breaking the late faith confirmed by oath, miſerably laid waſte the Aſian provinces, then deſtitute of defence. Morâd, informed of theſe hoſtilities, haſtened over to Aſia; and, having aſſembled an army at Pruſa, ſent before ſome choſen troops. Theſe being met by Karamân's wife, the ſoltân's eldeſt ſiſter, ſhe bad them halt till ſhe ſpoke to her brother; who, by her eloquence and tears, was prevailed on to be reconciled with him: ſhe engaging, that her huſband ſhould bind himſelf by oath never to act in the leaſt againſt the Othmân empire, or ſuffer his ſubjects to enter it on any account.

Hejra 847. A.D. 1443.

Morâd reſigns.

The Othmân dominions being now in profound peace, and a treaty concluded with the Hungarians, Morâd, tired with reigning, in 847, voluntarily reſigned the empire to his ſon Mohammed, and retired to Magneſia, with deſign to lead a private life. Karamân Ogli, who but the year before, had obtained his pardon, thinking this a proper time to deſtroy the Othmân empire, exhorted the king of Hun-

[c] Dukas, cap. 29—32.

gary in a letter, to take advantage of the present juncture, assuring him, that if he attacked the Othmân dominions, both in Europe and Asia at the same time, they should quickly root out the whole Othmân race, and restore the injured and dispossessed princes to their former happiness.

Resumes the sceptre.

The king of Hungary had lately, with his hand on the Gospel, sworn by the immortal body of Christ to observe the conditions of the peace: but by the instigation of the pope, who absolved him from his oath, he assembled an army; and, being joined by the Chechi, or Bohemian, Polish, Latin, and Bulgarian, Valak Ogli's auxiliaries, he invaded the Musulmân dominions. The Turks, frighted at such great armies of warlike nations, with Mohammed's consent, sent ambassadors to beseech Morâd to resume the reins of government, and defend the state in this critical juncture: Morâd, loth to leave the sweets of retirement, refused at first: but on a second application, at length consented; and with the utmost speed, passed through Kallipolis into Europe. The third day after his arrival at Adrianople, assuming the office of general, he put the troops in motion, and, by long marches, proceeded towards Varna, where the Hungarian king was encamped. For greater expedition, he marched before with the horse; and in three days coming in sight of the enemy, fell upon them, but not with the success he expected, for the right wing being unable, for want of infantry, to stand the first shock, were put into disorder, and pursued above a mile. The young king of Hungary, who now thought the victory his own, in the heat of the battle challenged Morâd to single combat. The soltân, accidentally meeting him, pierced his horse with a javelin. Hereupon, the king falling to the ground, the janizaries instantly cut off his head; and shewing it to the enemy on the point of a spear, cried out, "Behold the head of your king." At the same time, the scattered horse rallying, renewed the fight, and defeated the Christians at the first charge (R).

Battle of Varna.

(R) The Turks have a tradition, as well as the Christians, that in this engagement, Morâd ordered the writing, which he received from the king of Hungary, in confirmation of the peace, to be carried on the point of a spear through the ranks; crying out, "Let the gaurs, or infidels, come on against their God and sacrament; and, if their belief of those things be certain, let them, O just God, declare themselves their own avengers, and punishers of their ignominy."

They

They made indeed some ſtand afterwards, but night coming on, and wanting a leader, they were entirely routed. Excepting ſome few who eſcaped in the dark, all the reſt were ſlain, or taken priſoners, while Morâd led back his army not much leſſened, and loaden with ſpoil: after which victory he retired again to a private life at Magneſia. But, in 850, on account of a ſedition of the janizaries, who, for little or no cauſe, robbed or murdered all perſons they met, without diſtinction of age or ſex, he was prevaled on a ſecond time to mount the throne, and ſent Mohammed, who was too young to curb the mutineers, to Magneſia. Hejra 850. A.D. 1446. *Chriſtians overthrown.*

The ſedition being preſently appeaſed, he next year turned his arms againſt the rebellious Kaſtriot, Iſkânder Beg (S), drove him out of his kingdom, layed waſte all Greece and Arnaud; and, in the Morea, took by ſtorm Balibadri and Akchehiſſar. In requital for Iſkânder Beg's breach of faith, and cauſeleſs deſertion of the Mohammedan religion, he converted all the churches of Arnaud into jâmis, or moſques, and ordered all the Epirots to be circumciſed, or put to death; whereby the whole country, in a ſhort time, changed its faith [d]. To this place may be referred what the Chriſtian hiſtorians relate concerning the war in the Morea, and the exploits of Skânder Beg. With regard to the war in the Morea, according to Dukas, the reaſon of Amurat's march to that country was to recover the places taken by Conſtantine, deſpot of Lacedæmon, who, while he was at war with the Hungarians, had reduced Thebes and the neighbouring towns. On the deſpot's refuſing to ſurrender thoſe places, the ſoltân ſat down before Hexamilion (T); which Hejra 851. A.D. 1447. *Expels Skânder Beg.* *The Morea invaded by Morâd.*

[d] Cant. Othm. Hiſt. p. 88—92.

(S) That is *lord Alexander*, the name given George Caſtriot, youngeſt ſon of John, prince of Epirus, who being delivered in hoſtage to Morâd, was by him bred in the Mohammedan religion, and much beloved; but while the ſoltân was engaged in the Hungarian wars, he withdrew into Epirus, where according to the Chriſtian hiſtorians, he performed wonders againſt the Turks. He died at Liſſa, in the Venetian dominions, in January, 1467, being ſixty-three years of age. Cant.

(T) Hexamilion was a wall ſix miles long, built acroſs the iſthmus of Korinth, to ſecure the Morea againſt invaſions. There was a town alſo of the ſame name juſt within it. Hexamilion, ſignifies *ſix miles*.

Conſtan-

Conſtantine had repaired four years before, and behind which he then was with ſixty thouſand men. But he was betrayed by the Albanians, whoſe treaſon however he eſcaped. Amurat, having ruined Hexamilion, and laid waſte the country as far as Patrus and Klarenka, carried off with him ſixty thouſand priſoners [c].

Skander Beg revolts.

As to Skander Beg, although the Turkiſh hiſtorians ſcarce take notice of him, the Chriſtian writers, who call him prince of Epirus, have aſcribed to him exploits equal to thoſe of the greateſt heroes of antiquity: but as moſt of them have apparently exaggerated matters, we chooſe to follow Khalkondylas, who is more moderate in his account of him. Morâd, ſays this author, the ſpring after his expedition into the Morea, marched againſt Skander, or Skander Beg, ſon of Ivanes (U). This lord having been, it is ſaid, abuſed by the ſoltân, at whoſe court he was educated, without changing his religion, retired into Epirus, where having married the princeſs Donik, daughter of Arianetes, he openly revolted. Amurat, in conſequence of this revolt, marched with all his forces, and ravaged the country; while Skander Beg, after ſending his family and the uſeleſs people into the Venetian territories, retired with the reſt into the paſſes of the mountains, towards the ſea coaſt, watching the motions of the enemy, who at length beſieged Sfetigrade, and took it by aſſault. Getia, which they attacked next, terrified by that example, ſurrendered on compoſition. The ſoltân then ſat down before Kroja, the capital of Albania, and exceeding ſtrong as well by nature as by art. His artillery having made a great breach in the wall, the janizaries gave continual aſſaults; but, being repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter, and winter drawing on, Amurat, after a pretty long ſiege, wherein he loſt a great number of men, thought proper to leave the place for that time.

His brave actions in Albania.

The ſoltân, having remained at reſt a whole year at Adrianople, took the field a ſecond time, with a more numerous army than before, againſt Skander Beg; who was a man of great courage, and indefatigable in giving Amurat vexation. In his route to Kroya, he ſent to the Venetians to deliver up Skander Beg, who, with the Albanians, retired to the mountains near that city, it order to aſſiſt it

[c] Dukas, cap. 32.

(U) That is John, whom other writers ſurname Kaſtriot, and call king or prince of Epirus.

on

on occaſion. The cannon having made a large breach in the wall, a detachment was ſent to divert Skander Beg, while the Turks gave an aſſault. Hereupon a terrible fight began in the mountains, where that prince performed actions beyond belief, overthrowing all before him. On the other hand, the janiſſaries were ſo roughly handled at the breach, that Amurat thought fit to change the ſiege into a blockade; but at the ſame time, news arriving from George, deſpot of Servia, that John Huniades was ready to paſs the Danube with a numerous army, he immediately withdrew, in order to go and meet the Hungarians [f].

In the mean time, the emperor John Paleologus, being afflicted with the gout, the loſs of his conſort, and the troubles which diſtracted the church ſince his voyage to Italy, fell into a diſorder which carried him off in a few days. He was the laſt emperor of the Romans. Notice was immediately given of his death to Conſtantine (X); who, preſently after his arrival at Conſtantinople, ſent ambaſſadors to Amurat; and all differences which ſubſiſted between the two courts were adjuſted [g]. Khalkondylas adds, that his brother Demetrius aimed to ſupplant him, and would have aſcended the throne, had he not been hindered by his mother, and the great men, of whom Kantakuzenus and Notaras (Y) were the chief. The arrival of prince Thomas, the youngeſt of the brothers, was alſo a check upon him; ſo that as ſoon as Conſtantine entered the city, all was pacified. Demetrius and Thomas had the Morea divided between them [h]. A.D. 1448.

Emperor John dies.

The Hungarians, to revenge the death of their late king, in conjunction with the prince of Moldavia (lately revolted) and others, having entered the Othmân dominions, Morâd marched in haſte to Sofia; and from thence advanced againſt the enemy; but before the armies came in ſight, the Beigler, in their way to join him, met the Walachians ſeparated from the reſt, and eaſily routed them. The ſoltân, leading on his forces to Koſſova (Z), immediately began the battle; but not with the ſucceſs he ex-

Hungarians invade the Othmân dominions.

[f] Khalk. ubi ſupra, cap. 5 & 7.
[g] Dukas, cap. 33.
[h] Khalk. ubi ſupra, lib. vii. cap. 11.

(X) Surnamed Drakoſes, the brother of John.

(Y) He was grand duke.

(Z) A place near Nigromonte, famous for another battle, in which Morâd I. was victorious, and ſlain. The ſecond battle is deſcribed in the Walachian annals to be ſo fierce and bloody as to exceed all before, or are likely to be after it. Cant.

pected,

pected, the enemy's armour being proof against the sword. Morâd perceiving this circumstance, ordered his troops to strike at their heads with pole-axes and clubs. The Christians surrounded, and unable to resist the fury of the Turks, retreated slowly under the shelter of their carriages; and valiantly fought in that manner, with various fortune, till sunset. At last the king, perceiving his men discouraged, assembled the bravest of his horse; and, exhorting the rest to renew the fight, made a motion as if he intended to fall on the enemy's rear. But more solicitous for his own than his people's safety, instead of attacking the Musulmâns, he betook himself to flight; leaving the soldiers, now despairing of success, to shift for themselves. The Turks pursued them with eagerness, killed great numbers, and took two thousand prisoners. All the German, Bohemian, and Polish generals, fell in the battle; except the king himself [i].

Their force. According to Khalkondylas, the Hungarian forces consisted of forty thousand foot, seven thousand horse, and about two thousand war-chariots filled with musketeers: but these being judged by George, despot of the Triballians, or Servians, not sufficient to cope with the Turks, who, by the troops which joined them in their march, were become one hundred and fifty thousand strong, he thought it safest to sit still; which disappointment greatly incensed Huniades [k].

Battle of Kosova. Next morning the battle began, and continued by skirmishes the whole day, with considerable loss on both sides. In the night, the Hungarians, by the advice of Thaut, son of Sauz (A), attacked the quarters of the soltân, with their armed chariots, so unexpectedly, and with such fury, that the janissaries were for a while amazed; but recovering themselves, they played their cannon on the Hungarians, which did great execution. At day-break, fearing to be surrounded by the Turkish wings, these last retreated in good order to their camp. At the same time, Huniades advanced with his forces against the Asiatics; a circumstance which Karatz, who commanded the Europeans, perceiving, sent Thurakan to fall on their rear, while he attacked them in flank, with great slaughter. It was on this occasion, that the Walachians, apprehending the like treatment, if they did not provide for their safety in time,

[i] Cant. Othm. Hist. p. 95. [k] Khalk. lib. vii. cap. 7.

(A) Sauz was son of Amurat I. and had his eyes put out.

went

went over to the Turks. This day likewise was consumed like the former, in light combats, without coming to a general battle.

Huniades having fled with the best of his forces, unknown even to the rest, whom he had deserted, the Turks, at break of day, fell upon the chariots, which made a desperate resistance; but were at length all seized, after the men who defended them had been destroyed. According to the account taken by the prince of the Triballians, seventeen thousand Christians and four thousand Turks fell in the several skirmishes which were fought; for they did not come to a general battle. Huniades, apprehensive of being taken in his retreat through the countries of his enemies, first left his troops with only a few followers, and then quitted them also; judging it safest to travel alone; but George, the despot of Servia, having ordered all the passes to be stopped, in order to seize him, he was, after two days fasting, obliged to beg relief of some peasants. These knowing him by his dress and language, he was arrested and imprisoned; but afterwards released, on marrying his daughter to the despot's son. *Huniades taken by the despot of Servia.*

Morâd, at his return to Adrianople, married his son Mohammed to the daughter of Solymân Beg, prince of Elbistân. Dukas [1] calls him Turkatir, prince of the Turkmâns, who dwelt beyond Capadocia; and says Morâd made this choice, because as his territories bordered on the Persian Turks and Karamân, his son, who governed at Amasia, might be presently assisted in case of need, either against Karamân, or Kara Yusef. The marriage was celebrated with great solemnity from September to December; after which he sent Mohammed, with his wife, to the government of Asia Minor and Lydia. But in February following, he received advice of his father's death, from Halil and other wazîrs; who intreated him to hasten to Adrianople. Morâd going to divert himself in an island in the river near Adrianople, was seized with a great heaviness in his head; and, being carried back to his palace, died after three days illness, on the 2d of February; leaving immense treasures to his successor [m]. A.D. 1451. *Mohammed married.* *Morâd dies.*

He was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labour, merciful, charitable, religious, learned, and a great encourager of arts and sciences. A good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than he. Belgrade alone withstood his *His character.*

[1] Khalk. ubi supra, cap. 9, & seq. [m] Dukas, cap. 33.

arms.

arms. His first care, on subduing any country, was to build jami, mosques, imarets, madreseh, and khâns. He gave a thousand silury every year to the evladi resul Allah (B); and sent two thousand five hundred to the monks at Mecca, Medina, and Kuds Sharîf [n], or Jerusalem.

and sons. Mohammed, the eldest of his five sons, was his successor; the other four, Alaho'ddîn, Haffân, Or Khân, and Ahmed, died of distempers in his life-time.

SECT. VIII.

The Reign of Mohammed II. surnamed Fatîh (C), *to the taking of Constantinople.*

Mohammed II. MORAD being dead, Mahommed II. now in the twenty-first year of his age, was crowned a second time, three days after his father's decease [o]. On his arrival near Adrianople, he was met by all the persons of any distinction a mile from that city: there dismounting, they walked on foot; the soltân and his attendants marching in the middle. When they had advanced half-way they stopped, closing their lips to preserve the greater silence; they then set up a loud cry mixed with tears. On this, Mohammed and his train alighted; and, after the example of the rest, filled the air with groans and sighs. The grandees saluted him by kissing his hand, then mounted on horseback; and, having conducted him to the gate of his palace, retired to their houses.

Strangles his brother. The first act of Mahommed, after he ascended the throne, was to send Halim, head of the janizaries, and son of Eurenesis, to strangle his brother, an infant but eight months old; whom his father had by the daughter

[n] Cant. p. 94, 95.

[o] Ibid. p. 95.

(B) Or awladi resul Allah, that is, *the sons of the prophet of God.* These are properly called amîrs, or *lords*; denoting their descent from Fatima, a sister of Mohammed. They were formerly destined, like the Levites, to the worship of God. They are now dispersed through the empire, and distinguished by the green turbân.

(C) Fatîh, in Arabic, signifies the *Opener*, or *Vanquisher*; a title given him on account of his taking Constantinople. The Christian historians call him Mohammed the Great, and the first emperor of the Turks.

of

of Spintiar Isfandiar, prince of Sinope. Next day he ordered Halim to be put to death, and obliged that lady to marry Ishak, her father's slave, to whom she had an aversion [p].

Peace with the Christians.

After these steps, at the instance of George, despot of Servia, he renewed the peace with him, and sent him back his daughter, who had been married to Amurat; assigning her lands on the frontiers of that country for her maintenance. Constantine, and the rest who held the first rank at Constantinople, sent also to renew the peace with him; which was done in the most solemn manner. He also granted, at their request, a pension of three hundred thousand aspers yearly for Or Khân's subsistence, in the necessity the empire then laboured under [q].

Defeats Karamân Ogli.

Mohammed, having made peace also with the other Christian powers, turned his arms against Karamân; who, on the news of Amurat's death, entered the Othmân dominions, and took three forts, with a great extent of land, which Amurat had deprived him of. Mohammed marched to Kotiayon, and thence into Phrygia Salutaris, by the Turks called Karasaris, which is contiguous to the territories of Karamân; who, on the first news of his approach, sent to beg peace, offering to surrender the places which he had lately recovered. Mohammed's design was not to have returned till he had entirely subdued that prince to his obedience; but the imprudent conduct of the Romans made him spare Karamân for the present, in order to subdue them [r].

Affairs of the Morea.

Although the two princes, between whom the Morea was divided, had taken a solemn oath never to violate the agreement; yet Thomas soon after took up arms to drive Demetrius out of his possessions. Demetrius hereupon retired to Asan, his wife's brother; by whose means he obtained succours from Amurat, and compelled Thomas to submit the matters in dispute to the emperor's arbitration. But that prince refusing to deliver to his brother the territories which fell to his share, Mohammed ordered Thurakân, his governor in the Morea, to assist Demetrius, and demolish the wall that shut up that country. Hereupon Thomas gave him the city of Kalamata, in lieu of the territory of the Skortians, which he detained.

Isthmean wall razed.

Next year, he ordered cannon to be founded; and, having assembled an army out of all his provinces, be-

Hejra 856. A.D. 1452.

Founas cannon.

[p] Dukas, cap. 33. [q] Idem, ibid. Khalk. lib. vii. cap. 21. [r] Cant. p. 96.

sieged

ſieged Conſtantinople. The Greek emperor, terrified at the danger, begged peace on whatever conditions the ſoltân would impoſe. Mohammed declared to the ambaſſadors, that he pitied the emperor's caſe; and could not in conſcience deny peace to the humble: but, leſt he ſhould be blamed by his people for being at ſo great expence and trouble to aſſemble forces, without any advantage to the Othmân affairs, he deſired Cæſar to give him a ſpot of land on the European ſide of the Bogaz, or Boſphorus, no bigger than an ox-hide; and that he would immediately raiſe the ſiege. The Greeks readily conſenting, Mohammed ſent away his army.

Builds Rûmeli Hiſſar.

Then having pitched on a rocky place before the ambaſſadors, he ordered an ox-hide to be cut into ſmall thongs; and with them incloſing a piece of ground, five hundred paces in circumference, ſeized it for his uſe. Here he built, in forty days, a caſtle fortified with five high towers, repreſenting the letters of his name; and immediately after ran up another to anſwer it on the Aſiatic ſide. Theſe caſtles he provided with artillery and a good garriſon: then ordered the governors not to let the veſſels paſs, which daily ſupplied Conſtantinople with proviſions from the Euxine ſea. After this meaſure he returned, under the appearance of peace, to Adrianople; and, three days after his entrance, laid the foundations of that ſtately palace, called Jehân Numâ.

Hejra 857. A.D. 1453.

In the third year of his reign, and of the Hejra 857, Mohammed diſcovered the deſigns which he had hitherto concealed: for, raiſing as great an army as he was able, he went and beſieged Conſtantinople[s].

Beſieges Conſtantinople.

As the Turkiſh account of the deſtruction of the Roman empire is very defective, and we ought not to omit any material circumſtance relating to that grand event, we ſhall ſupply it from the Greek contemporary writers. Theſe mention but one ſiege of Conſtantinople undertaken by Mohammed; the cauſes of which ſeem to be impartially ſet forth by Dukas, as follows.

Roman artificers treated with ſcorn.

They, who had the principal ſhare in the government at Conſtantinople, were ſo indiſcrete as to ſend ambaſſadors to notify to Mohammed, that Conſtantine had been proclaimed emperor, although he had not been crowned. They complained alſo, that Or Khân's penſion was not duly paid, and urged to have it doubled: alleging, that the prince wanted money for preſents to the great lords,

[s] Cant. p. 97, & ſeq.

who

who paid their court to him; and that the emperor was not able to ſupply him. In caſe this demand was not granted, they deſired that they might be allowed to ſet him at liberty.

Hali Baſha, to whom this diſcourſe was directed, though of a mild temper, and a friend to the Romans, becauſe they often made him preſents; yet, on hearing the ambaſſadors talk at this rate, he made anſwer: "I have been ſo long acquainted, you ſilly Romans, with your artifices and tricks, that you ought to give them over.—The treaty, which we made with you, is ſcarce dry, and yet you have followed us into Anatolia; thinking to frighten us with chimeras of your own framing.—If you can do any thing againſt us, do it. Proclaim Or Khân prince of Thrace, and make the Hungarians paſs the Danube in your favour.—But take it for granted after all, that, inſtead of recovering the countries which you have loſt, you will loſe thoſe which you now poſſeſs.—"

Mohammed incenſed.

Hali having reported theſe matters to Mohammed, he flew into a great paſſion. "If I ſtay in Anatolia, ſaid he, the Romans will ſtir up all the Chriſtian nations againſt me, ſuccour Karamân, and ſubdue the Weſt. On this conſideration, he treated the ambaſſadors of that prince with mildneſs, and granted them peace. With regard to the emperor's ambaſſadors, diſſembling his reſentment, he promiſed to give them a favourable anſwer at his return to Adrianople: but, as ſoon as he arrived there, he ordered Or Khân's penſion to be ſtopped; and, towards winter, gave notice through his dominions for a thouſand workmen to be ready in ſpring, with the proper inſtruments and materials, to build a fort near the Sacred Mouth (D), above Conſtantinople. This project filled the Chriſtians every where with grief, as it convinced them, that the downfal of the city was at hand. A prodigious number of workmen being aſſembled at the time appointed, the emperor ſent ambaſſadors to Adrianople, not to demand an augmentation, nor even a continuation of the penſion, but to intreat Mohammed not to build the fort; and on that condition to pay tribute, if he required it. He remonſtrated, that he had indeed, at the intreaty of his grandfather Mohammed, granted him liberty to build a fort on the Aſiatic ſhore, becauſe it had been of a long time in poſſeſſion of his anceſtors; but that the deſign of

A.D. 1452.

Builds a fort to curb the city.

(D) The mouth of the Boſphorus in the Propontis, at Conſtantinople.

building this new fort oppoſite to the other, could be no other than to deprive Conſtantinople of its trade, and ſupply of proviſions from the Euxine ſea.

Mohammed, after having aſked the ambaſſadors what right they had to hinder him from building a fort on his own ground, ſhewed, from the emperor's joining continually with the enemies of the Othmâns, during his father's reign, how little reaſon he had to expect a favour from him; and concluded, threatening, that whoever came to trouble him again upon the ſame ſubject ſhould be flayed alive. This anſwer threw the inhabitants of Conſtantinople into the utmoſt fear and anguiſh. Soon after the Turks began to build the fort below Soſtunion, of old called Pheneum, in a triangular form, and called it Baſeſka; that is, *Head-chopper*. The emperor, finding he could not hinder the execution of this deſign, ſent guards to prevent the Turks from making incurſions, and pillaging the lands in time of harveſt: but Mohammed, inſtead of granting his requeſt, gave leave to thoſe who carried materials to the fort, to feed their cattle on the Roman paſtures. The people of the tower of Epibata going to hinder ſome Turks from deſtroying their corn, a quarrel enſued, wherein ſeveral on both ſides were killed. Mohammed, being informed of this ſkirmiſh, ordered a party to go and put the inhabitants of Epibata to the ſword: the Turks accordingly fell upon them as they were cutting down their corn, and ſlew forty.

Begins hoſtilities.

Declares war.

The emperor, being informed of this outrage, ordered the city gates to be ſhut, and the Turks who were in it to be arreſted: but three days after ſet them at liberty; and at the ſame time ſent ambaſſadors to tell the ſoltân, that ſince he was reſolved on war, and neither his own oaths nor the emperor's ſubmiſſions could prevent it, he might take his courſe: that if God, in whom he truſted, intended to deliver the city into his hands, no human power could hinder it: he adviſed him, however, to reflect on their treaties and his own oaths; adding, that, for his part, he would ſhut up the city, and defend the inhabitants to the utmoſt of his power. Mohammed, far from ſeeking excuſes to juſtify his conduct, declared war againſt Conſtantine.

Prodigious cannon.

Mean while, the fort being finiſhed in four months, the walls were furniſhed with cannon, ſome carrying ſix hundred pounders; and a garriſon of four hundred men, placed under the command of Ferûz Aga, who had orders to demand tribute of all veſſels which paſſed, and fire on ſuch

as

as refuſed to pay it. Mohammed, who had overlooked the work, having given theſe orders, returned with all his court to Adrianople.

While he was building the fort, a famous engineer went and offered him his ſervice He came from Hungary to Conſtantinople; but the penſion aſſigned him by the emperor's council was ſo ſmall and ſo ill paid, that he could not ſubſiſt on it. This circumſtance obliged him to retire to the ſoltân, who gave him conſiderable revenues. This perſon caſt him a very large cannon, which carried a huge ſtone ball a full mile; and whoſe ſound was heard above ten: the ball, when it fell, made a hole in the ground ſix feet deep.

Emperor's preparations.

The emperor, foreſeeing what would happen, had, ſix months before, reinforced the garriſon, drawn many people of the country into the city, and laid up great ſtore of corn. He had likewiſe ſent to Rome to demand ſuccours of the pope, and complete the union of the two churches: but as it was eaſy to ſee that neither the emperor nor the clergy were ſincere, ſo the pope afforded them no aſſiſtance; and their diſſimulation ſerved him afterwards with an excuſe for abandoning them to the mercy of the Turks.

The ſiege begun.

In ſpring, Mohammed ordered his great cannon to be carried from Adrianople to Conſtantinople, by Karaſia Beg, who had before reduced ſeveral places on the Euxine Sea, as Meſembra, Akheloum, and Biſon. Mean while, the diſtractions in the church continued (E), as if the city had not been threatened with a ſiege, which began the ſixth of April; the Turkiſh army encamping from the Wood-gate to the Golden-gate, towards the ſouth, and the church of St. Koſma. They alſo covered the whole ſpace, which had been planted with vines [t].

The city's ſtrength

Khalkondylas obſerves more particularly, that the ſoltân's camp extended from one ſea to the other: that the forces of Aſia were on the right hand towards the Golden-gate; thoſe of Europe on the weſt, ſtretching to the Wood-gate; and that in the middle, between both, was

[t] Dukas, cap. 34. 37.

(E) The clergy were divided; ſome for the union, others againſt it: at the head of whom was Gennadius, a monk. The great duke, who was of his party, declared, that he would rather ſee the turbân of Mahomet in the church than the pope's cap. He was certainly in the right.

Mohammed himself, with his janizaries and other troops about him, while his wazîr Zogan, was posted above Galata. The walls toward the port were not very good: but fronting the land there was a double wall, with double ramparts. The first was low and weak, but defended by a great fosse, two hundred feet wide, lined on both sides with stone: the inner wall was very high, and admirably well built [u].

Justiniani made general.

The emperor did all in his power for the defence of Constantinople. All the Venetian ships which came from the Tanais and Trebizond, were detained. The Genoese, though they had promised the soltân not to assist the Romans, yet, privately sent a large vessel, with five hundred men, to reinforce the garrison. John Justiniani, surnamed the Long, came from Genoa with two ships and several brave young men. As John had excellent skill in drawing up an army, and giving battle, the emperor made him chief commander, and assigned for his post that part of the walls which was neareſt the palace; because the enemy had planted most of the engines on that side. He promised likewise to give him the sovereignty of the isle of Lemnos, in case he obliged the Turks to raise the siege. Such magnificent rewards encouraged the Latins to behave like heroes. Mohammed caused new levies to be made, and brought such prodigious numbers together, that many reckoned they amounted to four hundred thousand. At the same time his gallies, ships, and barks, to the number of three hundred, came to anchor near the city.

Port and ships.

The port was secured with a chain, stretched across from the Fair Gate to Galata, which kept the vessels of the city in safety. Besides which there was a fleet of five ships, one belonging to the emperor, the other four belonging to the Genoese, which brought provisions from the Morea and Khio. As they returned in March, Mohammed ordered his fleet either to take or hinder them from entering the port of Keras; but the ships forced their way, by the help of the wind, and were let in by lowering the chain. The soltân finding that there were in the harbour eight great ships, twenty small ones, with several gallies, belonging to the emperor and the Venetians, besides a great number of barks, despaired of making himself master of them; but at the same time formed a most bold and noble design. He ordered a road to be made through the bushes and shrubs behind Galata, from the place facing

Gallies drawn over land.

[u] Khal. lib. viii. cap. 2.

the

the eaſt, under Diplacionion, to the other ſide of the gulf of Keras, oppoſite St. Koſma's church, and eighty gallies to be drawn over the hilly ground, from the Sacred Mouth into that harbour. Every galley had a pilot at her prow, and another at her poop, with the rudder in hand; one moved the ſails, while a fourth beat the drum, and ſang a ſailor's ſong: and thus the whole fleet paſſed along, as if it had been carried by a ſtream of water; ſailing, as it were, over the land [w].

With regard to this ſurpriſing exploit, prince Cantemir only obſerves, that beſides other engines before unheard-of, the Turks made uſe of one worthy of admiration; for by it, from the north ſide, ſome veſſels were brought over hills and declivities into the inner haven; a contrivance which occaſioned the taking of the city, by introducing the ſea-forces by the gate Fenar, looking to the lower haven [x]. To return to Dukas.

In the mean time they brought the monſtrous cannon, before mentioned, oppoſite to Saint Roman Gate. The gunner had two balls of ſtone, one very large, the other ſmaller; and ſhot the latter firſt, to ſee if he took right aim.

Khalkondylas relates, that the noiſe of thoſe great cannon was frightful; and the ſhock ſo great, that the ground trembled for more than two leagues round; that although the balls reached the ſecond wall, as being much higher than the firſt, yet the damage they did gave no diſcouragement to the Greeks; becauſe thoſe unwieldy cannon, not being eaſily managed, could not be fired above ſeven or eight times a day, and only once towards morning, as a warning-piece to begin the military operations. Beſides the great cannon, there were many others of a leſſer ſize planted along the counterſcarp, with which they battered the parapet of the rampart. The Greeks alſo had artillery, carrying balls from ſixty to eighty pound; one of which was planted againſt the largeſt of the Turkiſh guns; but when diſcharged, they ſo ſhook the wall and rampart, that they did more harm than good; beſides, the largeſt piece burſt after a few firings.

Mines and counter-mines.

Although the damage done by the Turkiſh cannon was at firſt ſo ſmall, yet the Greeks, through inexperience, and want of ſufficient numbers to attend at many places at the ſame time, were not able to repair the breaches; while the janizaries, under cover of their gabions and

[w] Dukas, cap. 38. [x] Cant. p. 98.

mantlets, gained the ditch; then raising a breast-wall with loop-holes along the counterscarp, fired so incessantly against the battlement, that none durst appear.

The soltân ordered mines also to be carried under the ditch and walls, and a great way into the city; building wooden towers, where soldiers were posted to secure the workmen, at the places where they broke ground; but the Grecks, by countermining, rendered those works of no effect. The Turks had yet another tower higher than the former; on the top of which there were a great number of ladders and portable bridges, to throw upon the ramparts.

Genoese kindness. The Genoese of Galata shewed on this occasion much affection for the Romans. In the day they supplied the Turks with provisions and ammunition for their cannon, and at night stole into the city, and fought next day against them. The day following they went to the camp; and those who were in the camp returned to Constantinople. The Venetians ventured their lives no less freely for the Romans. John Justiniani omitted nothing to defend the place; and the grand duke, followed by five hundred men, went round the city every day, to see that a good guard was kept, and to encourage the soldiers.

By the continual battering of the cannon, the tower near St. Roman Gate, and the walls on both sides, were demolished in such a manner, that the besiegers and the besieged could see each other.

Peace rejected. The emperor, despairing of being able to defend the city, after so large a breach had been made in the strongest part of the wall, sent to propose paying whatever tribute the soltân should think fit, if he would but retire. Mohammed answered, that there was no possibility of retiring now; that he must either take the city, or the city him: but at the same time he offered, if the emperor would surrender it, to give him the Morea, and his brother other provinces; threatening, in case he took it by assault, to put him, and all the great men to death; make slaves of the inhabitants, and give their effects to his soldiers. Constantine thought it better to wait the event than submit to such conditions.

Justiniani, at this juncture, resolved to burn the Turkish fleet, and prepared a galley for that purpose; on which he put aboard the most valiant Italians, with the necessary engines and artificial fire; but the Genoese of Galata having discovered his design, gave notice to the Turks; who being upon their guard when the Latins approached at

mid-

midnight, let fly their cannon, which ſunk the galley, with a hundred and fifty brave ſoldiers on board; and thus ended all their hopes.

Wooden bridge. Mohammed cauſed a wooden bridge to be made from the ſhore of Galata to Cinegion, conſiſting of a thouſand caſks, tied two and two together, and bound on each ſide with ropes, which afforded breadth enough for five men to march abreaſt. There were, at each end of the caſks, pieces of wood, on which the floor was nailed.

Mohammed's propoſal. When all things were made ready for ſtorming the city, Mohammed ſent to offer the emperor, and the great men, liberty to go out with their effects; promiſing that the people ſhould ſuffer no injury; but acquainted him at the ſame time, that if he rejected thoſe conditions, he and his officers muſt expect to be put to the ſword, and the inhabitants made captives. The emperor anſwered, by the advice of his council, that he would gladly live in peace with him: that Mohammed's anceſtors honoured his anceſtors as their fathers, and Conſtantinople as their country, where they found an aſylum in all their diſgraces; and that none of them who had dared to attack it enjoyed a long life. He adviſed the ſoltân therefore to be content with what he had already unjuſtly taken from his family, and the impoſition of as heavy a tribute as he ſhould think fit; but with regard to ſurrendering the city, he ſaid, it neither depended on him nor any of the inhabitants; the common reſolution being to lay down their lives in its defence.

Emperor's anſwer.

Turkiſh illuminations. The ſoltân deſpairing of taking the place by compoſition, cauſed the day for the attack to be publiſhed through his camp; declaring, that he would content himſelf with the walls and the houſes, and give up to the ſoldiers the people and their effects, which declaration was received with joyful ſhouts. In the evening he ordered fires to be made throughout the camp. This was a ſpectacle quite new, to ſee an infinite number of lights ſpread over the land and over the ſea, in the ſhips and houſes, in Conſtantinople and Galata; ſo that the blaze rivalled the light of day. The ſurface of the water glittered as if it had been covered with looking-glaſſes. The Romans ſeeing all the camp on fire, ran to the walls, from whence they heard thoſe exulting ſhouts, which ſtruck them almoſt dead with fear, as being the forerunners of a general aſſault.

The emperor John laboured extremely hard all the night, to fill up the breaches with faſcines, and have a

ditch dug within. Mohammed begun the attack on Sunday, the 27th of May, which was the feaſt of All Saints. He gave the Romans no reſt all the night. At nine o'clock, dividing his army into two parts, he drew it up from the palace to the Golden Gate. He ranged his eighty barks from the Wood-gate to the ſquare, and diſpoſed the other veſſels, which were at Diplacionion, in a circle from the Fair-gate, beyond the fortreſs of St. Demetrius, and the little gate near Our Lady's monaſtery, named Hodegetria, beyond the port as far as Vlanka. Theſe ſhips contained ſcaling-ladders and other engines.

Order of it. At ſun-ſet the trumpet ſounded, and the ſoltân fought on horſeback at the breach, ſurrounded by ten thouſand ſlaves, ſupported by more than a hundred thouſand cavalry on each ſide and behind him. In the low ground from the port to the Golden Gate, there were upwards of a hundred thouſand infantry, and above fifty thouſand from the place where the ſoltân was to the high ground where the palace ſtood: there was beſides an infinite number of ſoldiers in the veſſels and on the wooden bridge.

Beſieged, how poſted. The beſieged were diſtributed round the walls in this manner; the emperor and Juſtiniani were poſted at the breach with three thouſand Latins (F); the great-duke was in the palace with five hundred men. There was likewiſe upwards of five hundred men, armed with ſpears and darts to defend the walls and the fortifications towards the ſea, from the Golden to the Fair-gate. They watched all the night. The Turks brought an infinite number of ladders to fix to the walls; while the ſoltân, with a rod of iron in his hand, drove them forward, ſometimes uſing careſſes, ſometimes threats.

Gallant defence. The beſieged behaved valiantly. The emperor and Juſtiniani fought at the head of their men; but, in the evening, that incomparable captain received a ball in the back of his hand, which pierced his gauntlet. Not able to bear the pain, he deſired the emperor to maintain his ground, while he retired on board a ſhip to have his wound dreſſed (G).

Mean

(F) The brave Juſtiniani was poſted at the breach to receive the enemy with three hundred Italians, and behind him was the emperor, with his troops drawn up to ſupport the other. Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 6.

(G) Juſtiniani being wounded in the hand, retired to get it dreſſed; and the Genoeſe imagining that he would abandon them, quitted their poſt likewiſe. The emperor ſeeing this ran up, and aſked Juſtiniani whither he was going; his anſwer was, "There, where God

Mean while the Turks, covered with their bucklers, approached the walls, and uſed all their efforts to apply the ladders; but were hindered by the prodigious quantity of ſtones which the beſieged threw down upon them.

The Turks enter by a ſally port.

While the emperor thus guarded the breach, the Turks perceiving a door of the palace open, by which the Romans made their ſallies with ſecurity, it being underground, fifty of Mohammed's ſlaves ruſhed in; and mounting the walls, cut thoſe who defended them in pieces; after which the enemy found no difficulty to get up. As ſoon as thoſe who fought under the emperor, and knew nothing of this misfortune, as being at a diſtance from that place, perceived themſelves to be ſhot at from the top of the walls by the enemy, they fled in confuſion into the city (H): but the gate of Kartias being very narrow, many were cruſhed to death. The Turks ſeeing the Romans fly, purſued them with a great ſhout, and ſlew all who came in their way (I). It was then that the emperor, in deſpair, ſtanding in the breach, with his ſword and buckler in hand, uttered theſe words: "Is there no Chriſtian left alive, to ſtrike off my head?" He had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when he received a ſtroke in the face from a Turk, and then another from a ſecond, which killed

God hath opened a paſſage to the Turks." "Let us go on then, my brave men (cried the emperor to thoſe about him), and fulfil our duty againſt thoſe accurſed and deteſtable dogs." But the Turks ruſhing forward in troops, Kantakuzenus was forthwith ſlain, and the emperor wounded in the ſhoulder. Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 6.

(H) To explain this, it muſt be underſtood, that the defence hitherto was made at the breach in the outer wall; and their retreat was through the inner wall into the city.

(I) The Turks, who entered in troops, wounded the emperor in the ſhoulder, and drove him, with his people, to the ſecond incloſure, where the reſt of the Greeks defended themſelves from the walls with darts, arrows, and great ſtones, againſt the enemy, who approached it: but when they ſaw that the Genoeſe, who were their chief hope, had fled, and that the emperor was forced to give way, having an infinite number of Turks at his back, they loſt all heart, and fled in ſuch diſorder towards the Roman gate, that they ſtopped it up. By their thus deſerting the ſecond wall, in which there were ſeveral breaches, the janizaries entered the city. Thoſe at the other end of the wall fled towards the port, in ſuch crowds, to get on board the Venetian and Genoeſe ſhips, that moſt of them were drowned; and the veſſels ſo over-loaded with them, that ſome of them ſunk. Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 6.

him,

him, although neither of them knew that he was the emperor.

The Turks entering the city an hour after midnight, with the loss of no more than three men, although between the palace and the gate of Kartias they slew two thousand Romans, some flying, some defending themselves. They imagined there were fifty thousand men in arms; for had they known there were no more than eight thousand, they would not have slain one man; not for pity, but out of covetousness; for they would have sold them like sheep (K).

Strange credulity.

Some Romans, at day-break, ran to their houses, to take care of their wives and children; but although they were covered with blood, those whom they met in the streets they passed through would not believe that the Turks had broken in. At length the news being confirmed by other wounded people, who arrived thick one after another, the women and religious fled in crouds to the great church, called Sancta Sophia, in the belief that a ridiculous prediction which passed among them, concerning the destruction of the Turks, would now be accomplished.

False prediction, the ruin of many.

The prediction was, that the Turks should one day take Constantinople, and slay the people as far as the pillar of Constantine; but that then an angel, descending from heaven with a sword, should give that weapon, with the empire, to a poor man, whom he should find on the pillar, saying to him, "Take this sword, and revenge the people of the Lord:" that the Turks would, at the same instant, take to their heels; and the Romans pursue them, slaying them continually; nor ever cease till they had driven them out of the West, and also the East, as far as Monadenere, a place on the borders of Persia. This monstrous absurdity was believed on no better ground than that they had formerly heard certain deceivers relate as much.

The Greeks, who had gotten into the great church, were flattering themselves with an assurance of being out of all danger, when the Turks arriving, broke open the doors, and finding the place filled from top to bottom with people, carried them away tied together. A great multitude, who were so silly as to go in procession to the very tomb of St. Theodosius the martyr, on the day of his

(K) Khalkondylas on this occasion observes, that the Turks would set at liberty the murderers of their fathers for money.

festival,

feſtival, as if every thing was quiet, fell into the hands of the Turks, and were led captive like the reſt. The fleet which was in the port hindered the Turks from applying ladders, and mount the wall on that ſide, till ſuch time as they who had entered the city in the morning had arrived and driven the Romans off the wall. This incident the enemy in the ſhips perceiving, they ſoon mounted; and the gates being now all broken open, the Turks ruſhed in impetuouſly on all ſides. *The city taken.*

When the great duke ſaw them approach the Royal Gate which he guarded, he retired towards his palace with a ſmall number of men; but in the way to the tower, where his wife and children were, he was ſeized, and a guard put upon him and them [y].

Juſtiniani, after his wound had been dreſſed, was returning to the port (L), when news being brought him of the emperor's death, and the loſs of the city, he put to ſea again. The ſhores were crowded with people of all ſorts, who beat their breaſts, and called to the ſailors to take them in; but if they had been ever ſo willing, it was not in their power; nor could they poſſibly have eſcaped themſelves, if the enemy's fleet had not been buſy in plundering. The Genoeſe at Galata ran with their wives and children to their ſhips, leaving all their effects behind them; but the wazîr Zogan running to the ſhore, and promiſing them ſecurity for their perſons and goods, the greater part returned with their magiſtrate, and preſented the ſoltân with the keys of their city. Only five great veſſels ſet ſail, the reſt were abandoned by the ſailors. The Venetian (M) gallies and merchant ſhips retired in the ſame manner [z]. *Galata ſurrenders.*

All

[y] Dukas, cap. 39. [z] Ibid. Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 7.

(L) Some Chriſtian authors repreſent him in this affair as leaving his poſt through cowardice, and ſay, that he died ſoon afterwards of grief. Nor is what Khalkondylas ſpeaks of his behaviour in a former note much in his favour. Poſſibly, Dukas, being employed by the prince of Leſbos, a Genoeſe, might have added this circumſtance, to ſave his credit; or poſſibly the others may have injured him, from an invidious report.

(M) Thoſe in the Turkiſh fleet quitting their ſhips, to ranſack the town, after the reſt had plundered it, the Venetian gallies being deſtitute of men, whom the Greeks had taken out to defend their walls, ran a-drift along the Helleſpont; ſo that three days after they ran

The soltân enters.

All that we have hitherto related happened between the first and eighth hours of the day; at which time the soltân entered the city with his wazîrs and great officers, surrounded by a great body of janizaries. When he came to the great church, he was astonished to see the condition it was in. Perceiving a Turk pulling up the marble pavement, out of zeal for religion, as he alleged, Mohammed drew his sword, and wounded him, saying, "Be content with the plunder, the buildings belong to me." Then ordering one of the priests to ascend the pulpit, he heard prayers. On leaving the church, he sent for the grand duke, and bid him see the consequence of not delivering up the city. The grand duke replied, that it neither was in his nor the emperor's power to surrender it; much less ought they to have done it, when the soltân's own officers advised them to hold out; for that they said they could not take the city. This answer increased the jealousy which Mohammed had conceived against Hali Basha. The soltân asked him next, if the emperor had escaped aboard the fleet. The grand duke said, he knew not what was become of him, being posted at a different gate. At the same time two young soldiers stepping forward, one said he had killed the emperor; the other, that he had given him the first wound. They were immediately sent to find his body, and bring the head; and it was acknowleged by the grand-duke. It was afterwards nailed to the top of the pillar of the Augusteon, where it remained till evening; then, the skin being flayed off, it was stuffed with straw, and carried as a trophy to the princes of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks of different nations.

Emperor's head exposed.

Or Khân slain.

Others say that the duke hid himself with Or Khân, and other persons of condition, in a tower, which they at length surrendered at discretion, without being known. Being sent on board a ship, a Roman, to obtain his liberty, discovered them both to the pilot; who immediately cut off the head of Or Khân, and carried it with the grand duke to Mohammed, who comforted him

ran ashore at the island of Egina, and first brought the news of the loss of Constantinople; which spread such a general terror both by sea and land, that the Greeks left their dwellings, and fled with precipitation. The lords of Peloponnesus, frighted like the rest, retired to their ships, to save themselves, which gave the Albanians, who inhabited the country, opportunity to throw off their obedience. Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 6.

in

in his diſtreſs. The ſoltân having ſent to ſeek for his wife and children in the camp, and in the fleet, gave to each one thouſand aſpers; and in ſending them to their own houſe, told the duke, that he would give him the government of the city, and confer on him greater honours than he poſſeſſed under the emperor. Having gotten from him the names of the principal officers and other perſons of the court, he ſent to ſearch for them, and paid one thouſand aſpers for each [a]. *Grand duke careſſed.*

This is the account which the Greek hiſtorians have left us concerning the taking of Conſtantinople; let us now ſee what the Turks themſelves ſay.

The Chriſtians being at length reduced to a few defenders, and tired with continual fatigues; ſeeing alſo their walls full of breaches, their batteries deſtroyed, in a word, the city blocked up both by ſea and land, without any hopes of relief, the emperor ſent ambaſſadors to ſurrender it to Mohammed, on his own terms. The ſoltân receiving them civilly, promiſed to grant the inhabitants their lives and effects, with liberty to remove whither they pleaſed; and then diſmiſſed them: but having ſomething farther to ſay, ordered them to be called back. The centinels from the ramparts ſuſpecting, from the haſte which the meſſengers made after the ambaſſadors, that the Turks had a deſign to enter with them, and ſeize the city, fired on them, to hinder their nearer approach. The Othmâns ſurpriſed, and perceiving ſome of their companions grievouſly wounded, ſounded a retreat, and reported what had happened to the ſoltân; who imagining that the Greeks had repented of their agreement, and fired on his people out of revenge, ordered his army to attack and deſtroy that perfidious enemy. On the other hand, the Greek emperor being told by the centinels, that the Turks had attempted to take the city by fraud, and were now approaching the walls, commanded his ſubjects to exert themſelves in its defence. Upon this a fierce and bloody conflict enſued: but whilſt the Greeks valiantly fought on the land ſide, thoſe who defended the walls towards the haven, being beaten from their poſts, gave the Turkiſh forces an opportunity of entering the town on that ſide. *City ſurrendered.* *Yet entered by force.*

In this aſſault the emperor Conſtantine himſelf fell, bravely acting the part ſometimes of a general, ſometimes of a ſoldier; and in the greateſt dangers animating his men with his preſence. His headleſs body was found lying *Emperor's bravery.*

[a] Dukas cap. 40.

on

on that of an enſign-bearer; from whence the place takes its preſent name of Sanjâk dar Yokuſhi; that is, *aſcents*, or *hills with enſigns on them.*

When theſe circumſtances were known to thoſe who bravely repelled the attacks of the Turkiſh land-forces, they forthwith erected a white flag on the walls; and cried aloud from the ramparts, "Why do you without the fear of God, for no fault of our's, break your promiſe? The agreement for ſurrender of the city is now made, and ordered by both emperors to be ratified. Deſiſt therefore from fighting, nor aſſault thoſe who have engaged to be your ſubjects." Mohammed hearing thoſe words, and ignorant perhaps of what had paſſed in the haven, commanded the battle to ceaſe, promiſing to ſtand to the former conditions; and ſo received that part of the city by ſurrender.

Half the city yielded on terms.

Next day the ſoltân, entering by the gate called Top Kapu, made the following declaration to the Greeks: "I promiſed you in our agreement, that if you choſe to continue here, all the churches and monaſteries ſhould remain untouched, and your religion ſuffer no damage: but ſince I have acquired half the city by force of arms, and half by ſurrender, I think it juſt, and accordingly order, that the religious houſes and churches, which ſtand in the part I have conquered, be converted into jâmi, and the reſt left entirely to the Chriſtians: purſuant to this determination all the churches from Ak Seray to Sancta Sophia, were converted into jâmi; but from Suli Monaſtîr to Ederne Kapu, all remained to the Greeks. After this diſpoſition, the land and ſea forces being aſſembled in the market-place, called Ak Seray, Mohammed marched in a triumphal proceſſion to Sancta Sophia. Then having ordered the ezan to be ſung (N), he went to the imperial palace; and as he entered, being addicted to poetry, is reported to have ſpoken an extemporary diſtich, in the Perſian language, the ſenſe of which is this; "The ſpider has woven her web in the imperial palace; the owl has ſung her watch ſong on the towers of Afraſiab;" in alluſion to the downfal of the Grecian emperors. Conſtantinople was taken on the 20th of Jemazio'l Ewel, in the year 857, and fifty-firſt

(N) A hymn, containing the Mohammedan profeſſion of faith, ſung by the muezîn, or chanter, on the higheſt tower, or minareh, of the Jâmi, to call the people to prayers. It is uſed alſo after victories, like the Te Deum among Chriſtians. Cant.

day

day of the ſiege; the negligence or treachery of the wazîr prevented its being taken ſooner [b]. We will now return to Dukas.

Grand duke, and others, put to death.

The day after the city was taken, the ſoltân entered it a ſecond time, and went to ſee the grand-duke, who came out to meet him. As the ducheſs was ſick, he went to her bed-ſide, and calling her mother, bid her good-morrow, and not afflict herſelf; promiſing to give her more than ſhe had loſt. After this viſit, he walked about the city, which was quite empty, both men and beaſts having been carried off.

On the 28th of May he again went over a great part of the city, and made a feaſt about the palace. When he had drank pretty hard, he ordered his chief eunuch to demand of the grand duke the youngeſt of his ſons, who was fourteen years of age, and extremely handſome. The duke ſuſpecting the ſoltân's deſign, turned pale, and told the eunuch he might take him, but refuſed to deliver him (O). Hereupon Mohammed, in a rage, ſent the eunuch for the young lord, and an executioner with him, to bring the duke and his two other ſons, and cut their heads off at the palace gate (P). He likewiſe commanded all

[b] Cant. Othm. Hiſt. p. 100, & ſeqq.

(O) Khalkondylas relates, that all the Greeks who eſcaped the ſlaughter were releaſed from ſlavery, and ſettled at Pera, eſpecially the perſons of any quality: for Notaras (or the grand-duke) himſelf, with his wife and children, were bought by Mohammed, and permitted to retire whither they pleaſed: but relying on the ſuccours expected from Italy, he would needs remain at Conſtantinople, where ſeveral others gathered, who could not forbear entering into certain intrigues; which being preſently diſcovered, ſo incenſed the ſoltân, that he put them all to death. Our author adds, that it was thought this misfortune was occaſioned by the imprudent expreſſions Notaras uſed when the ſoltân ſent for his youngeſt ſon; ſaying, that ſince he had ſet them at liberty, he had no right to their perſons; and that the demand was unjuſt, diſhoneſt, and even outrageous. Others ſay, that all this was brought about by a lady, the daughter of a foreigner, who hated the Greeks; and with whom the ſoltân was greatly enamoured. Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 7.

(P) Both Dukas and Khalkondylas ſay the great-duke behaved at his death with great magnanimity. The latter relates, that he deſired his ſons might be executed firſt, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould be reſerved for an unnatural uſe; and that although the young creatures lamented, and intreated

all the great men and officers to be executed, whom he had redeemed from the soldiers; choosing out of their wives and children, for his own use, those who were most handsome, and best shaped.

Plunder wasted.

On the third day after the taking of Constantinople the ships set sail for their respective countries, loaden with rich plunder and captives. The camp was no less crouded than the ships. There one might see persons of all degrees and conditions; bishops in their pontifical habits, nuns in their religious dress, bound like slaves. The holy vestments were used as housings for horses and dogs. Some were seen serving up fruit in the sacred vessels, and others drinking out of chalices. They carried away in carts an infinite number of books, which they dispersed over both the West and East. They sold the most valuable authors for a trifle, threw away an incredible number of the gospels, after stripping off the ornaments; and burnt all the images to dress their victuals [c].

Galata dismantled, and Constantinople repaired

On the fifth day, the soltân entered Galata, and ordered an account to be taken of the number of inhabitants. He likewise commanded the houses of those who fled to Genoa to be opened, and an inventory to be made of the goods in each; giving notice, that if the proprietors returned in three months, they should be restored, if not, that they should be confiscated. At the same time he ordered the walls of Galata to be demolished, and those of Constantinople to be repaired. He also chose five thousend families out of his dominions; and enjoined them, under pain of death, to settle by the end of September in that city; the government of which he gave to one of his slaves, named Solymân. He left all the churches desert, except the great one, or Sancta Sophia, which he converted into a mosque. On the 18th of June, he returned in triumph to Adrianople, with a prodigious quantity of plunder, and an innumerable multitude of slaves. He found, at his arrival, a great number of Christian princes, who came from far and near to felicitate him on his success. He ascended his throne, and while they all stood

[c] Dukas, cap. 40, and 42.

treated him rather to give them up, and all his effects which he had saved in Italy, than suffer them to be slain before his eyes, he would not consent. Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 7. We cannot but think that obstinacy criminal which occasioned the death of so many people.

before

before him, impoſed on each ſuch tribute and homage as he thought fit.

To the Conqueſt of the Morèa.

NEXT ſpring, reſolving to join Servia to his dominions, he ſent to demand the ſurrender of that country from George the Deſpot; under pretence that the right of inheritance being in Stephen, ſon of Lazarus, it therefore belonged to him. His envoy not returning at the time appointed, he took the field with a formidable force, and having paſſed Philipopolis, came to Sophia. There, leaving his army and wazîrs, he entered Servia, at the head of twenty thouſand foot, but found none to oppoſe him, the deſpot, with the chief men of his court, having retired to Hungary, promiſing the people to return with a powerful army. When he came to the fort of Sendrew, he did his utmoſt to take it, as it would give him an eaſy paſſage over the Danube into Hungary: however, he failed in the attempt. He had no better ſucceſs againſt another fort, but took a city lower down, on compoſition, yet carried the inhabitants into ſlavery [d]. A.D. 1454. *Servia invaded.*

This city ſeems to be the ſame which Khalkondylas calls Novo Barda, ſituated on the Turkiſh borders, near the river Morana, which falls into the Danube. Mohammed beſieged and battered it ſo furiouſly with mortars, a kind of artillery ſaid to be invented by him, that the inhabitants, ſeeing almoſt all their houſes beaten down, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Part of them he carried into ſlavery, the reſt he left in the city to follow their trades, they being ſkilful in working metals, which the neighbouring mines afforded. George, the prince, or deſpot, of the Triballians, on the approach of the Turks, had fled to Huniades for ſuccour; and at the ſame time bought a peace of the ſoltân, paying forty thouſand ducats annual tribute, but ſoon after died. As Eleazer, his youngeſt ſon, was to ſucceed him, Stephen and George, whoſe eyes had been put out, found means to ſeize the treaſure, and then fled to the Turkiſh court, where they were aſſigned lands for their ſupport [e]. The ſoltân, at his return to Adrianople, repeopled the towns and villages about Conſtantinople with four thouſand men and women, who fell to his ſhare; and going to that city, ordered a palace *Made tributary.*

[d] Dukas, cap. 42. [e] Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 12.

to be built (R) eight ſtadia in compaſs; the top of which was covered with lead taken from the monaſteries.

A.D.1455. *A fleet ſent againſt Rhodes and Khio.*

In the courſe of the ſecond year after the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, the knights of Rhodes repaired thither with preſents, ſoliciting a treaty of amity and commerce; but becauſe, in obedience to the pope's order, they would not pay tribute, Mohammed declared war againſt them; and in ſpring, fitted out a fleet of one hundred and eighty ſail, among which were twenty-five with three banks of oars, fifty with two banks. They ſet ſail in June, under admiral Hamza, who had been cup-bearer to Amurat, and ſteered to Leſbos. The prince ſent our author Dukas on board, to compliment and make him a rich preſent. Two days after he ſailed for Khio; and though he treated the inhabitants of that iſle with the ſame civility, yet they did him no honours. Upon this ſome Turks landed and ſpoiled the vineyards about the city, but it was too ſtrong for them to attempt; beſides, there were more than twenty armed Genoeſe ſhips in the port. Thence Hamza ſailed to Rhodes; but having obſerved at a diſtance the great extent of the city and number of ſhips in the harbour, he judged the iſland to be much ſtronger than that of Khio, and ſo departed for Ko. The knights of Rhodes had left the town, and retired to another called Rakheas, which was fortified, but after twenty days ſiege was forced to ſurrender. Returning to Khio, a diſpute happened with the iſlanders, wherein ſeveral Turks were killed, and one of the ſhips overſet with all the men on board. The ſoltân informed of this incident, baniſhed Hamza to the government of Attalia, and declared war againſt Khio.

A.D.1456. *The Phoceas taken.*

Accordingly ten gallies with three banks of oars, and ten with two, ſet ſail, under the command of Genuza, a handſome young man, whom he made alſo governor of Kallipolis. With this force he reduced New Phocea, and while our author was at court, ſoliciting the affairs of the prince of Leſbos, the ſoltân ſent and took Old Phocea. He alſo reduced Aynum, whoſe prince then reſided at Samothrace.

(R) Called Eſki Saray, or, *the old palace*, in the heart of Conſtantinople. It is a vaſt building, ſurrounded with high walls, about an Italian mile ſquare. Here uſually reſide the miſtreſſes of the deceaſed ſoltân, and the ſoltânas who have had children; likewiſe the old maids, who having ſurvived their charms, are maintained out of the ſoltân's clemency. Cant.

Mean

Mean while, the inhabitants of Khio made their peace, by paying thirty thouſand crowns for the galley which was loſt, and ten thouſand yearly tribute.

The people of Lemnos, being diſaffected to their prince, ſent to deſire Mohammed to appoint another. Accordingly he ſent Iſmael Eunuch, the ſucceſſor of Genuza, with two gallies to ſettle Hamza there; a purpoſe which was effected, although the prince of Leſbos, to whom it belonged, did all he could to bring the rebels to reaſon. This conduct incenſed Mohammed againſt him [f]. *Lemnos revolts.*

However, the ſoltân, in July, turned his arms againſt Belgrade, and had ſuch ſucceſs at firſt, that he beat down part of the wall, and blocked up the paſſage of the river with ſixty veſſels. Some of his ſoldiers alſo got into the place, and carried off plunder: but John Huniades, happening to arrive the ſame day, charged them vigorouſly, ſlew many, and drove out the reſt. Then making a furious ſally, he took the enemy's cannon, ſlew a great number of them, wounded the ſoltân in the thigh, and burnt his ſhips, whereupon he broke up the ſiege [g]. Khalkondylas ſays, Huniades himſelf was ſo grievouſly wounded, that he died in a few days after this engagement, but that ſome reported he died of the plague, which then raged in the Chriſtian camp. To this place muſt be referred the war which Mohammed, according to the Turkiſh hiſtorians, waged with the king of Hungary, whoſe forces he defeated. They add, that in the battle the king received a wound, of which he was ſaid to have died not long after; and that then the ſoltân laid ſiege to Belgrade, which the approach of winter and loſs of men obliged him to raiſe [h]. Khalkondylas ſays, he was at the ſame time at war with the Illyrians, and the emperor of Trebizond; and that he ſent his gallies under the command of Khetir, governor of Amaſia, to ſcour the coaſt of Kolkhis [i]. A.D. 1456. *Belgrade beſieged.*

Next year pope Calixtus ſent eleven gallies, under the conduct of the patriarch of Aquileia, to ſuccour Rhodes, Khio, Leſbos, Lempos, Imbros, Samothrace, Taſſa, and other iſles, in the neighbourhood of the Turks, where being joined by the Catalan ſhips and corſairs, they made up forty ſail, which rendezvouſed at Rhodes. The ſoltân, attributing all theſe movements to the prince of Leſ- A.D. 1457. *Leſbos attacked.*

[f] Dukas, cap. 42—45. [g] Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 13. [h] Cant. 107. [i] Kalk. lib. viii. cap. 13, 14.

bos (Q), declared war, and sent Ismael with a fleet in August against Methimne; but after having attempted to make a breach as well as to undermine and scale the walls, he was forced to return, with great loss.

A.D. 1458. In 1458, ambassadors arrived from the Komân, and from Uzun Hassan, who commanded in Armenia, bordering on the Kolkhians. The latter came to demand a small pension, which Mohammed's grandfather had granted to the grandfather of Uzun Hassan, and had been due three-score years. It consisted of one thousand housings for horses, one thousand carpets, and one thousand turbâns. The soltâns answer was, that they might return, and assure their master, that next year he would go himself and carry him what he owed. Towards winter he began to build at one end of Constantinople, near the Golden Gate, a citadel; which the emperor John Paleologus was hindered from building by Bâ-yezîd [k].

Uzun Hassan's embassy.

The Morea invaded. Let us now return to the affairs of Greece. After Mohammed had built the castle on the Bosphorus, he sent Thurakan into the Morea, to make war on the emperor's brothers, Thomas and Demetrius; but after having taken Neopolikhne, he was obliged to retire, and his son Ahmed was seized in an ambuscade [l]. The reduction of Constantinople struck such a terror throughout Greece, that the lords of the Morea prepared to retire to Italy, accompanied by all the persons of distinction throughout Greece; but Mohammed diverted them by a sudden agreement. This resolution to leave the Morea brought upon them great calamities; for the Albanians, seeing them in a hurry to get away, seized the country; but instead of setting up a governor of their own, they chose a prince out of the Greeks, who still remained among them. This was Manuel Kantakuzenus. After which election they fell upon the other Greeks, subject to the two despots, plundering their effects and carrying off their cattle: for the Albanians in the Morea were shepherds, who lived in the fields without any fixed habitations. These people assembling, took by force the cities and fortresses from the

Albanians seize it.

[k] Dukas, cap. 45.

[l] Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 1.

(Q) His name was Dominic. He succeeded his father Dorini Gattiluzzio, who died in 1456. The author Dukas was an officer of his court, and carried the tribute twice or thrice to Mohammed, yet he no where describes the person of the soltân.

Greek

Greek inhabitants, whom they pillaged; and, conſidering them as no better than ſlaves, ſent to the Port, offering to put the towns and forces of the Morea into the ſoltân's hands, provided he would leave them in poſſeſſion of the open country.

This ſurrender being ſecretly encouraged by Centerion Zakharias, brother to the wife of one of the late emperor's brothers, and one Lukanus; prince Thomas, the deſpot, cauſed them to be ſeized and impriſoned in the caſtle of Khlumetia. But on a promiſe of Centerion's daughter in marriage, with other advantages, the governor was prevailed on to let them eſcape. They firſt attacked Klina, and then Pattras, a city of Akhaia, where reſided Thomas, the youngeſt of the two Greek lords, to whom the Albanians were ſubject; but were repulſed at both places. Nevertheleſs the Morea would have been in danger of falling into the hands of the Albanians, had not the ſoltân, at the intreaty of Aſan, ſent an army under Turakan; which having defeated their forces, and taken two thouſand priſoners, with three or four of their towns, they ſubmitted to their princes, on condition that they ſhould keep the places which they had ſeized, and not be obliged to reſtore the plunder they had taken. *Submit to their princes.*

Turakan, at parting, recommended unity to the two brothers, as the beſt means to keep their ſubjects in obedience; but his back was ſcarce turned before they fell at variance, and endeavoured to ſupplant each other. This diſſenſion gave occaſion to Lukanus to excite the Albanians and inhabitants of the Morea to revolt. They had recourſe to Aſan, as the perſon of greateſt power and authority; for he had the government of Corinth, and the greater part of the Morea; but he refuſing to give them any countenance, they refuſed to pay the yearly tribute of twelve thouſand gold ſtatera (R), or any of the uſual taxes, unleſs the lands were equally divided among them. And thus the Greeks, by their diſſenſions and party quarrels, by degrees, dwindled to nothing [m]. *Revolt again.*

In the year 1548, Mohammed ſent to order the deſpots of the Morea either to pay the three years arrears of ten thouſand ducats tribute, or quit the country. In ſpring following he marched to attack the Morea, and reduced A.D. 1458. *Corinth taken.*

[m] Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 9, & ſeqq.

(R) Amounting to about twenty-four thouſand ducats.

A.D.1459. Corinth, without using force. At the first news of his approach, Thomas, one of the despots, retired to Italy with his wife and children; and Demetrius, the other, submitted of his own accord to the soltân; who carried him away, with many considerable persons of Lacedemon, Akhaia, and other provinces; where he placed governors. He brought two thousand families from the Morea, which he settled at Constantinople; and two thousand young men, whom he enrolled among his troops [n].

The Morea invaded, and part subdued.

According to Khalkondylas, Mohammed having sent his officers into the Morea, to receive the tribute due to him, they found the Greeks in such feuds among themselves, that they forbore pressing either them or the Albanians on that head; while the soltân, in consideration of the discord that reigned between the despots, remitted one third of the tribute, recommending to them only not to violate the peace which they had sworn to keep. But finding that they paid no regard to his instances, he marched with his army to the Morea, and leaving part of his troops to besiege Corinth, penetrated into the country, where he took Tharsa, Arriba, Phliasia, Pazenika, and other cities. One of the princes had retired to Mantinea, the other to Epidaurus, cities of Lakonia; which last the soltân longed to be master of; but finding it too strong to attack, he returned to the siege of Corinth; where, in his absence, Asan had made a shift to introduce a good number of soldiers, and some provisions. Although the castle was accounted impregnable, situated on a high rock, and inclosed with three very strong walls; yet provisions beginning to fail after the first wall had been battered down, the inhabitants obliged Asan to surrender by capitulation. This was followed by a peace; whereby the despot gave up all the country which Mohammed had passed through with his army, agreed to pay two thousand ducats tribute, and likewise yielded the Egean Sea, the isle of Kalaura, the city of Pattras, and the country adjoining to Akhaia [o].

State of Athens delivered to Mohammed.

The war being thus finished, Mohammed disbanded his forces, and went to see Athens; where he admired the Pyræum, the convenience of its port, and all the superb ancient buildings. That city had been taken some time before by Omar, son of Turakan, governor of Thessaly, on the following occasion: on the death of Nerio Acciaoli, its prince, his duchess, who had a young son by him, became mistress of the state, by gaining friends at the Turkish

[n] Dukas, cap. 45. [o] Khalk. lib. ix. cap. 1, & 2.

court.

court. Soon after, falling in love with a young Venetian gentleman, ſon of Pietro Palmerio, podeſtat of Nauplium, who went thither to trade, ſhe propoſed to put him in poſſeſſion of all, provided he would turn off his wife, and marry her. Palmerio, fired with love as well as ambition, went back to Italy; and, having poiſoned his wife, returned to Athens, and married the amorous ducheſs.

Thus he became a great lord; but was much hated by the people. He took on him the guardianſhip of her ſon, whom ſoon after he carried to the ſoltân, becauſe Franko, ſon of Antonio Acciaoli, Nerio's nephew, had retired to the Turkiſh court, in hopes one day of obtaining the principality. Accordingly, as ſoon as Mohammed heard of the ill-conduct of the widow, he gave the city to Franko; who ſent the ducheſs priſoner to the city of Megara; where, ſoon after, ſhe was made away with by his order. Upon this occaſion, her huſband went and complained to Mohammed; who, moved by his affliction, ordered Omar to take Athens. That general found no difficulty in making himſelf maſter of the city; but the fortreſs holding out a long time, he at length prevailed on Franko to ſurrender it, in lieu of the country of Beotia and city of Thebes [p].

Affairs of the Morea.

Mean while the deſpot Thomas, uneaſy under the Turkiſh yoke, began hoſtilities againſt his brother the deſpot of Sparta, who had given his daughter in marriage to Mohammed, and detached troops to beſiege Pattras. The ſoltân ſent forces againſt them under Khamus, ſurnamed the Spar-hawk; who ſeized Ahmed, governor of the Morea, and Omar, his predeceſſor, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage; but as ſoon as they heard of the general's approach, they retired to Megalopolis, to their prince, who then aſſembled a body of Greeks and Albanians, to oppoſe the Turks. However, they were eaſily defeated; after which victory, the general, leaving part of his army under Janus and prince Demetrius, to continue the ſiege, ordered the reſt into garriſon. Thomas, being informed of this circumſtance, returned, and beſieged the janizaries that remained to guard the fortreſſes.

Genoeſe declare war.

After this period, the Genoeſe having demanded a reſtitution of Pera, as wrongfully detained from them, and Mohammed refuſing to yield it, they declared war againſt him. Upon this rupture, the ſoltân, paſſing over to Aſia, took from them Amaſtris, on the Euxine Sea, by compo-

[p] Khalk. lib. ix. cap. 3.

sition, and transported two thirds of the inhabitants to Constantinople.

Amastris taken. The Chirkassians, under Artabales, had but newly retired from the siege of Trebizond, capital of the empire of Kolkhis, when Khiter Beg, governor of Amasia, came, and, surprising the suburbs, made two thousand prisoners. As that poor city was almost dispeopled by the pestilence, and must have been taken had the enemy persisted; the emperor John offered to become tributary, and pay two thousand ducats yearly, provided the captives were restored; a proposal to which Mohammed agreed [q].

State of the isles, and of the Morea. Before the taking of Constantinople, Mohammed had bestowed the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Thassus, and Samothrace, on one of his officers. But Dorice, after the death of his father Palemedes, seized the lordship of Lesbos and Lemnos, with that of Oenus; which were all quickly recovered. Yet the four isles submitted to the fleet, which arrived presently after from Italy, commanded by the pope's legate. But as soon as that fleet had set sail for Rhodes, Ismaël, general of the Turkish gallies, overran Imbros and Lemnos; and, seizing all the Italians, sent them to Mohammed, who put them to death at Philippopoli, where he then resided, the plague having driven him from Constantinople. Not long after this transaction, Zogan, having supplanted Ismaël, and obtained the government of Gallipoli, took Thassus and Samothrace; and sent the inhabitants to people Constantinople.

Asan, having procured an army from the soltân in favour of prince Demetrius, entered Peloponnesus, and defeated prince Thomas, near Leontarium, where he afterwards besieged him for a few days; but through the opposition of his adversaries, he was obliged to withdraw; for Omar, governor of Thessaly, and he were always at variance. For this reason, soon after, Mohammed gave his government with that of the Morea to Zogan; who for his service in taking Morezin, the most famous corsair in the Levant seas, had in a short time risen to great credit. Zogan immediately entered Akhaia with his army, and sat down before the fortress, which forthwith surrendered; the Greeks who were there assembled dispersing. On the other hand, the Milanese, whom Thomas had sent for, on their arrival began to batter the city; but having no more than one piece of cannon, were obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Naupactus [r].

[q] Khalk. cap. 4, & 5. [r] Ibid. cap. 6.

Mean

Mean while prince Thomas with his forces reduced the country of Lakonia, and took the city of Kalamata, in the territory of Meſſene. He then went to beſiege Mantinea; but, finding it was to no purpoſe, ſent to ſound whether Mohammed would give ear to an agreement. The ſoltân, having had advice that Uſun Haſſan was in motion in Aſia, conſented to a peace, on condition that Thomas ſhould reſtore all the places which he had taken from him, and pay twelve thouſand ducats tribute. The conditions were accepted of by the prince; but, he not being able to raiſe the money, things were in much diſtraction among his ſubjects. Mohammed was ſo offended, that he put off his expedition againſt Uzun Haſſan, in order to fall upon the Morea. *Prince Thomas diſtreſſed.*

Being arrived at Korinth, Aſan waited on him, on behalf of Demetrius, expecting to be veſted with the command of his army: but when they were at Tegea, he impriſoned him and all his adherents; then marched to Sparta. Demetrius would have retired to the caſtle, which is above the town; but when he heard that his brother-in-law Aſan was a priſoner, he found he had no other reſource, but to go and preſent himſelf before the ſoltân, who treated him with great kindneſs; aſſuring him, that all paſt tranſactions ſhould be forgotten, and that another country ſhould be given to him inſtead of Sparta. However, he was detained in the camp, and guards were placed over him. *Prince Demetrius detained.*

Mohammed went afterwards and ſeized a very fine and rich Greek city, which lies beyond Sparta, at the foot of the mountain Taugete, three miles from Paleopoli and the river Eurotas. Then he marched to Kaſtria, a ſtrong city about eight miles diſtant, with a caſtle on a rugged mountain, five hundred paces high. This place his janizaries having taken, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he ordered the garriſon to be put to the ſword, and the governor to be cut in two, lengthways. Next he took Leontarium, with the caſtle of Kadikea, where neither man nor beaſt was ſpared. Out of ſix thouſand inhabitants three hundred were taken priſoners, and put to the ſword in cold blood. The reſt of the cities of the Morea, terrified by this ſlaughter, ſurrendered by their deputies. Even Salvarium, in Arkadia, though a very ſtrong place, with a fine port over-againſt Pylos, ſubmitted; and the inhabitants, to the number of ten thouſand, were ſent to people the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople [s]. *Cities taken by the ſoldan.*

[s] Khalk. lib. ix. cap. 7.

Mohammed,

Mohammed, after carrying prince Demetrius about with him for some time, guarded and bound, released him; and, by his persuasion, sent Joshua to receive the city of Epidaurus, and bring away his wife and daughter, whom the soltân seemed desirous to espouse. The citizens delivered the ladies; but would not part with the city. After this expedition, Mohammed resolved to fall upon the places belonging to the Venetians.

Conquests by Zogan. In the mean time Zogan, governor of the Morea, who was sent to conquer the countries of Akhaia and Elis, took the city of Kalaurita by surrender, from Doxas, one of the chiefs among the Albanians, who were afterwards all put to death. Then he marched to Grebenum, a very strong place; but, not being able to take it, he proceeded to Sancta Maura, another city of the Albanians; whither the most wealthy people of the country had retired for safety. Those of the fortress having surrendered by composition, Zogan took possession; but, contrary to his promise, let loose his soldiers, who slew many of the inhabitants, and made prisoners of all the rest. The other Albanian cities, in despair of finding any mercy from the Turks, would hear no more of surrendering on the faith of their generals.

Prince Thomas retires. During these transactions, Mohammed marched from Kardikea, to view Koron, and then proceeded to Pylos, where prince Thomas was with a ship waiting to carry him off, when he should see occasion; but the fleet of the Venetians, to whom it belonged, putting in there, he was ordered to retire, to avoid giving offence to the soltân. Accordingly, as soon as he knew that the Othmân army was encamped near the town, he withdrew; and the Venetian ambassadors waited on Mohammed to renew their treaties. After his troops had scoured the country, and made a great number of Albanians captives, he sent prince Demetrius to reduce Beotia, and marched in person into Akhaya; where he seized all the strong towns and castles, which the lords of the country yielded to him. Here, being informed of Zogan's cruelty at Sancta Maura, and the consequence of it, he ordered all the people to be set at liberty; turning Zogan out of his post, which he gave to Khamus [t].

A.D.1458. He afterwards took Grebenum; and, marching towards Pattras, subdued the city of Kastrimenum: then besieged Salmenika, situate on the top of a high mountain, with a

Other cities taken by Mohammed.

[t] Khalk. lib. ix. cap. 8.

castle

caſtle on a ſteep rock, which he battered for ſeven or eight days to no purpoſe; but the janizaries having found means to turn off the river from the inhabitants, they were obliged to ſurrender, and were all made ſlaves. The caſtle, where one of the Paleologi commanded, would have come to a compoſition; and Mohammed had, by way of preliminary, withdrawn with his army to ſome diſtance; but Khamus, whom he left before the place, having ſeized ſome of the inhabitants, the reſt refuſed to capitulate. Hereupon the ſoltân turned him out of his command, and reſtored Zogan.

He marched next into the country of Phæanum, where he put to the ſword a great number of Albanians, who, on his parole, brought proviſions to the camp. He uſed the ſame kind of deceit in the country of Phliunte; for, obſerving that the Albanians were generally the cauſe of the revolt of the Greeks, he reſolved to weaken their power, as the moſt effectual way to prevent rebellions for the future. After theſe exploits, Mohammed returned to Athens; where being miſinformed by the janizaries, who kept the caſtle, that the people had conſpired to deliver up the city to Franco Acciaoli, lord of Beotia, and lately duke of Athens, he cauſed ten of the moſt conſiderable citizens to be arreſted, and ſent them to dwell at Conſtantinople. As to Acciaoli, he ſent him to Zogan, who put him to death. Then, ſetting forward, to return by Pherres to Adrianople, he ordered Demetrius to go before, and gave him the city of Ænus, with the revenue of the ſalt-pits belonging to it; beſides twelve thouſand crowns out of the treaſury[u].

Acciaoli put to death.

In the mean time Zogan beſieged Salmenika, and offered the inhabitants very advantageous conditions, which they rejected; but ſoon after, the chief of the Greeks, who, for, a year together, had, with invincible courage, ſuſtained the war, and the continual aſſaults of the Turks, gave up the place, having liberty to carry off his effects.

Salmenika ſurrendered.

Prince Thomas, having retired from Pylos, repaired to the iſland of Korfu; where he left his family, and ſet ſail for Italy. At the ſame time, he ſent an ambaſſador to know if Mohammed would give him a great extent of country along the ſea-coaſt, in exchange for the city of Epidamnum. The ſoltân, by way of anſwer, put the envoy in irons; but ſoon after ſent him back. Thomas, arriving at Rome, was lodged in the pope's palace, and

Prince Thomas at Rome.

[u] Khalk. lib. ix. cap. 9.

had

had a pension of about three thousand livres for his other expences [w]. Thus the whole Morea fell under the power of the Turks, except such maritime places as were in the hands of the Venetians.

To the Conquest of Bosnia.

Heira 863. A.D.1458. WHILE these scenes were acting in the Morea, the soltân began his march to recover Semendria, which had been given by the Triballians to the king of Hungary; but, on his approach, the inhabitants delivered up the keys to him. The Turkish historians say, he besieged and took Semendria, which the Christians had subdued some years before: they add, that, within two years after the conquest of Constantinople, he reduced by arms, or capitulation, above forty cities.

Semendria surrendered.

A.D.1459. In 864, he seized in Asia the territories of Kizel Ahmed, by the treachery of his brother Ismael Beg. Ahmed fled to Uzûn Hassan. Hereupon Mohammed passed over with a great army; and, having routed Uzûn Hassan's forces, took Sinope [x].

Sinope yielded, by Ismael Beg.

The soltân, who was incensed against the prince of Sinope, for having leagued with Uzûn Hassan against him, sent thither a fleet consisting of one hundred and fifty sail of gallies and round vessels, which arrived at the same time that he, with his army, reached the place by land: but Mahmûd Basha arriving before the soltân, had a conference with the prince; who agreed to surrender up Sinope, on condition Mohammed would give him Philippoli. This was agreed to, and he retired thither. Kastamone and his other possessions submitted: for his territories, which were very rich, began at the city of Heraklea, which belonged to Mohammed, and extended from the kingdom of Pontus to Paphlagonia, and the lands of Turgut. Mohammed carried with him to Constantinople a ship of nine hundred tons, which Ismael had built, and brought it into port, where he had a larger of his own; but both of them becoming unserviceable at sea, he built a vessel of three thousand tons, which soon after overset in the port by the weight of its mast.

Huge ships.

Peace with Hassan. It was after this transaction, according to the Greek historians, that the soltân marched against Uzûn Hassan; into whose dominions he entered after he had passed Sebaste, and took the city of Koreykum. In his march for-

[w] Khalk. subi upr. cap. 10. [x] Cant. p. 107.

ward,

ward, he was met by the mother of Uzûn Haſſan; who reproaching him mildly with warring againſt thoſe of his own nation, as well as faith, he agreed to make peace on condition that her ſon, for the future, ſhould neither ravage his territories, nor any way aſſiſt the emperor of Trebizond [y]. According to Dukas, Uzûn Haſſan, not having forces ſufficient to oppoſe Mohammed, retired to the mountains on the borders of Perſia. The ſoltân then croſſing Armenia, the river Phaſis, and Mount Caukaſus, taking many places in his way, entered Kolkhis, and marched to Trebizond; where he found his fleet [z]. In his paſſage, Koyunlu Hiſſar was ſurrendered to him by Huſſeyn Beg, who had married the daughter of the king of Trapezond. Then, beſieging this laſt city, David Comnenus, by the perſuaſions of his mother-in-law Sare Khân, delivered up himſelf and kingdom to Mohammed; by whom he was honourably received, and ſent, with all his family, to Conſtantinople [a].

Trebizond beſieged.

David was ſon of the emperor Alexis, and brother of John, his predeceſſor; on whoſe death, he, by the aſſiſtance of the Kabazitans, who commanded at Mezokhalde, near Trebizond, ſeized the empire, in prejudice to his nephew Alexis, who was but four years old. The cauſe of Mohammed's quarrel againſt David was, that he had entered into a cloſe alliance with Uzûn Haſſan, and given him his daughter in marriage; upon an aſſurance, that his ſon-in-law would free him from the tribute which he was to pay the ſoltân [b].

Mohammed Bâſhâ, who was poſted at Shîlolîmne, having had an interview with the great chamberlain George, the emperor's couſin-german, adviſed him to perſuade David to ſurrender; which that prince conſented to, provided the ſoltân would marry his daughter, and give him a country of the ſame value with his own. Mohammed at firſt refuſed to come to any compoſition: but, at length, by the advice of his council, agreed to the terms propoſed; upon which David ſurrendered the place, and with his neareſt relations was carried to Conſtantinople. Mezokhalde, and the other places, ſurrendered one after the other: and thus the city of Trebizond, with the whole country of Kolkis, which, but a little before, compoſed a noble empire, fell at once into the hands of the Turks.

Surrendered on articles.

[y] Khalk. lib ix. cap. 10 & 11. Dukas, cap. 45. [z] Dukas, cap. 45. [a] Cant. p. 107. [b] Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 11.

The

The emperor put to death.

The people he disposed of several ways: some he made janizaries, others slaves; and, some time after, put the emperor and his sons to death. For the wife of Uzûn Hassan, having written to David to send her one of his sons, or else Alexis Comnenus, who was then at Mesellin; George, the grand chamberlain, gave the letters to the governor of the princes: but fearing the worst, in case it should by any means come to the knowlege of Mahmûd Bâshâ, that he was privy to such an affair, he took them back, and delivered them to the soltân himself. The soltân, having read them, ordered all the parties above mentioned to be strictly guarded; and, afterwards, to be put to death, not sparing George, the emperor's youngest son, who had turned Mohammedan. The daughter of David, whom he had before taken to wife, he reduced to serve in the chamber [c].

Skânder Beg's successes.

It is time now to look back to Skânder Beg, and see what was doing all this while in Epirus. Mohammed, soon after his father Morâd's death, sent Hamza, with twelve thousand horse, against that prince; who lying in ambush on the top of Mount Modrissa, they were, in their passage by night, defeated with great slaughter; and driven down again into the plain, where Amesa, the prince's nephew, was ready to receive him. In this action, seven thousand Turks were killed, and the general, with many officers and common soldiers, taken prisoners. The year following, fourteen thousand horse, under Debreas, were sent against Skânder Beg; who, with six thousand choice men, marched to surprise him at Pologus, before he entered Epirus: but, being perceived by the moon-light, the Turks had time to draw up in order. However, the prince falling on furiously with his troops, and, after a sharp contest, killing Debreas, the enemy fled; leaving four thousand one hundred and twenty slain behind them. There fell on this occasion only a few of the Christians, among whom Skânder Beg distributed the spoil.

Besieges Belgrade.

After this exploit, Skânder Beg, consulting at Dibra with Moses, the governor, who was in the greatest favour and authority with him, about laying siege to Sfetigrade; that general, being corrupted by an emissary of the soltân, advised him to change his design, and besiege Belgrade, on the borders of Epirus. With this view, the prince requested aid of Alfonso, king of Naples; which being ar-

[c] Khalk. lib. ix. cap. 11.

rived,

rived, he inveſted the place with fourteen thouſand men; and ſo diſtreſſed it, that the Turks promiſed to ſurrender in caſe they were not relieved in ſixteen days.

The news of this ſiege coming to Mohammed, who was then going over into Aſia againſt the emperor of Trebizond, he ſent Sebalias Bâſhâ, with forty thouſand horſe, to raiſe it. The politic Bâſhâ, having prevented notice of his approach, by corrupting Skânder Beg's ſcouts, fell unawares on that part of his army which lay in the plains. Muſakhius, who commanded thoſe troops, drew them up in the beſt manner he could, and made a brave reſiſtance: but, ſeeing his men cut down in heaps, attempted to break through the enemy's ranks; and, after performing wonders, was ſlain, with all his men. Skânder Beg would have come down from the mountains to his relief; but was diſſuaded by his officers from ſo dangerous an enterprize. However, obſerving at laſt, that moſt of the Turks followed the purſuit, he deſcended ſuddenly, with four thouſand men, and made great ſlaughter among thoſe who remained in the plain. Then, attacking the Bâſhâ's rear, did great execution. At length, night approaching, both parties retired to the hills: from whence Skânder Beg marched to Epirus; and Sebalias, in triumph, to Conſtantinople. This was the greateſt overthrow Skânder Beg had ever till then ſuſtained; his loſs amounting to two thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot, moſt of them Italians, beſides his tents and artillery: about eighty alſo were taken priſoners. The Turks loſt in all three thouſand. *His forces defeated.*

As ſoon as Moſes heard of this defeat, he, with a few whom he had corrupted, fled to Mohammed; by whom he was honourably entertained. Skânder Beg was amazed at this accident; but afterwards, excuſing the traitor on the ſcore of the temptation, would ſuffer none to reproach him. Meanwhile Moſes urged the ſoltân to proceed in the war; and the ſpring following was ſent with fifteen thouſand ſelect horſe to invade Epirus. Skânder Beg advanced to meet him; and, joining battle, repulſed the van of the enemy: then, attacking the main body, Moſes, who commanded it, bent his force againſt the place where the prince was, with a deſign to kill him: in effect, a Turkiſh ſoldier, happening to encounter him, ſtruck him backward on his horſe; and the Othmâns gave a great ſhout, as thinking him ſlain: but he, recovering himſelf, aſſaulted his adverſary afreſh, and ſlew him. Soon after the enemy fled; Moſes, with four thouſand only, *Revolt of Moſes,*

only, escaping the slaughter. The soltân would have put him to death at his return, but for fear of discouraging deserters: and, finding himself neglected by every body, he soon after fled back to his old master; who restored him to all his former posts.

and of Amesa.

In the sequel, Amesa, in resentment of certain injuries done him, as he alleged, by his uncle Skânder Beg, withdrew, with his wife and children, to Constantinople. He was kindly received by Mohammed, who, next spring, sent Ishak, the Great Bâshâ of that city, at the head of fifty thousand men; with orders, as soon as he arrived in Epirus, to proclaim Amesa, king of that country, that the inhabitants might see his quarrel was against their prince, not the nation. Skânder Beg, to prepare against this storm, levied troops in all parts of his territories: but commanded in person a body of six thousand only; and, as soon as the Basha came in sight, fled, not as usual into the woods and mountains, but towards Lyssa, a maritime town of the Venetians, as if he despaired of keeping the country.

The Turks defeated in several battles.

Ishak Bâshâ hereupon advanced farther into the country, contrary to the advice of Amesa, whom he had proclaimed king; and, the third day, arrived in the plains of Amatha: the night following, he encamped in those of Pharsalia, famous for the battle between Cæsar and Pompey; and, next morning, removed to the foot of Mount Tumenist. Here Skânder Beg, who, by his spies, had watched all the motions of the enemy, came over the hill upon them, when they least expected him; and, breaking into their camp before they could be drawn out in order, made such a slaughter that they fled, in spite of all the intreaties of Ishak and Amesa, who both behaved gallantly, and were pursued quite out of Epirus. Of the Turks were slain twenty thousand, by the lowest account; some say thirty thousand: and of the Christians no more than sixty (S). The spoils were very great; and among the prisoners were Amesa and a sanjâk, with whom Skânder Beg entered Kroja in triumph.

After this battle, no hostilities were committed by the Turks for two years; and on the third, Mohammed concluded a peace for one year with Skânder Beg: but, as soon as it was expired, he sent Sinan Bâshâ into Epirus, with an army of twenty thousand men. This was quick-

(S) These almost impossible facts discredit the history of Skânder Beg.

ly,

ly defeated, as was another of thirty thousand, under Hassan Beg, who was taken prisoner; and a third, of eighteen thousand, commanded by Yussan Beg, fared no better. At length, Karaza Beg, an old commander, and acquaintance of Skânder Beg, was, at his request, sent against him with forty thousand men. The prince, being informed of his approach, assembled a greater force than usual, and, sending two thousand men before to lie in ambush in the enemy's country, defeated their vanguard, consisting of four thousand horse. Soon after the rest of the army entered Epirus: but a hard rain, which continued for three days, preventing any action, the old general thought fit to return home, without doing any thing. Upon this, the soltân, finding, that Skânder Beg was not to be subdued with such forces as he could then spare to send against him, dispatched an ambassador to him with rich presents, and propofals of peace; which was at length concluded in 1461, and continued for some time[d]. *Peace concluded.*

This is the account given by the Italian and other Christian historians, relating to the affairs of Epirus, during this war: but Khalkondylas represents them in a very different light. According to that author, Mohammed sent a great army in summer against Skânder Beg, whom Morad could never reduce, under the command of Joshua, son of Breneses; who over-ran that part of Macedonia bordering on the Ionian sea. But Skânder Beg, having demanded aid of the pope, and Alphonso, king of Naples, his great friend, offering to give up Kroya in return for their assistance, a considerable body of foot was sent over; which, landing at Durazzo, entered the Turkish borders, plundering and carrying off all who fell into their hands. Then, joining that prince's troops, they besieged Sfetigrade; and possibly would have taken it, had not Joshua come unexpectedly upon them, and cut them all in pieces. Skânder Beg himself, who happened luckily to be absent, soon after retired to his friends in Italy. *Epirus over-run.* A.D. 1460.

At his return, he chose a convenient place; which he fortified, to serve for a retreat, when pursued by the Turks. This place was near Durazzo, on the Adriatic coast; where there was a little peninsula of land, about three quarters of a mile over; which he inclosed with a strong wall, and peopled with Albanians. He likewise put Durazzo in a better state of defence than it was in before, and thus secured a retreat by sea, in case he should *Skânder Beg's retreat.*

[d] Knowles's Ottom. Emp. edit. Ricaut. in Mahomet II.

be obliged by superior force to quit the land. After having taken these precautions, forming a flying camp of Albanians, he betook himself to the mountains; appearing sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, wherever his presence was necessary, and had always an eye on the enemy; who soon after came and ravaged the country from one end to the other, carrying away men and beasts, and burning the towns and villages, without opposition [e].

Albania dismantled.

To corroborate this relation of Khalkondylas, Dukas says, that Mohammed put to death all the great men of Albania, and demolished all the forts throughout that country, excepting Monembasia, which he left standing, contrary to his intention. The same author adds, that the soltân sent a fleet of a hundred and eighty ships into the Egean sea, without reaping any advantage from it: that he spent part of the following winter at Adrianople, and the rest at Constantinople; and that he ordered a ship of an extraordinary size to be built; and also the theatre, called the Market for Cloaths, named, in Persian, Bezestan [f].

Great ship.

Hejra 865. A.D. 1460.

The Greek islands remaining still unsubdued, Mohammed, in 865, prepared a great fleet, and attacked Mitylene; which, though bravely defended, at length was mastered. The rest would have shared the same fate, had he not been diverted by the Kazîkla Voda, prince of Walakhia, who refused to pay the usual tribute [g].

A.D. 1463.

The Greek writers are more particular. According to Dukas, in the month of September, Mohammed, with a fleet of sixty-seven sail, came before Lesbos, and summoned Nicholas Gattiluzio, who then held it, to surrender. Nicholas, who, to possess the estate, had strangled his brother Dominic four years before, had, for the defence of the island, repaired the fortifications, and provided five thousand soldiers, besides the inhabitants; who, reckoning women and children, amounted to twenty-five thousand. On his refusing to give it up, Mohammed returned to Adrianople, and left the care of the siege to the wazîr Mahmûd; who battered Lesbos with such vigour, that he beat down that part of the wall called Melanudion, with part of the fortifications and towers.

Mitylene attacked,

and surrendered.

So great a breach filled the besieged with terror; and that though by the assistance of some pirates, they continued to make sallies, and defend the place; yet the

[e] Khalk. lib. viii. cap. 16. [f] Dukas, cap. 45. [g] Cant. p. 108.

prince,

prince, seeing no hopes of holding out, or of relief, sent to tell Mohammed Bâshâ, that he would surrender up the isle, provided some other lands were given him in lieu of it, as had been at first offered. Of this proposal the Bâshâ sent advice to Mohammed, who was so glad of the occasion, that he returned to make the agreement in person. The island having been surrendered, the commonalty were left to cultivate the land. Of the middle class of people, some were made slaves; others enrolled among the janizaries; and the better sort were sent to Constantinople, to repeople that city. As for the corsairs, three hundred in number, they were all cloven with the sword from the groin to the breast, and thus left to expire in torment.

The prince beheaded.

Mohammed, soon after his return to his capital, imprisoned the prince, with Lucius, his cousin-german, lord of Ænus; who, though young, had assisted him in the murder of his brother; and though both of them turned Mohammedans to save their lives, yet they were soon after confined again, and at length beheaded [b].

Walakhia refuses homage.

Mohammed having sent to the waywod of Walakhia to come and pay him homage, to bring with him five hundred young men, and pay for the future ten thousand crowns a year tribute, that prince replied, that he was willing to pay the tribute, but he would neither bring the five hundred men, nor go and adore him. The soltân, incensed at this answer, sent a considerable officer, with a secretary, to tell the waywod to remit the tribute, and that their master would consider the rest: but the waywod, instead of complying, ordered them to be impaled; then, crossing the Danube, ravaged Disteta, and took many prisoners, whom he also impaled. He afterwards defeated Hamza, governor of the province, who opposed him with ten thousand men; and having taken him, with many others, impaled them all.

Invaded by Mohammed.

Mohammed, mad with rage at this cruel insult, entered Walakhia with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men; but as the inhabitants had withdrawn into the woods and passes of the mountains, the soltân met with nothing but a solitude for seven days together. At length he arrived in a more agreeable country, but found it planted with stakes, bearing the bodies of those who had been impaled; among which was that of Hamza, dressed in purple silk. This struck him with fear; and in the

[b] Khalk. lib. x. cap. 2.

night, the waywod breaking into his camp, made a great slaughter; but, at day-break, retired with his men[1]. However Hali Beg, son of Mikhael, being sent in pursuit, slew a great number, and took two thousand prisoners; whom Mohammed ordered to be slain before his face.

The country ravaged.

After this execution Vladus, leaving six thousand horse to harrass the Turks, marched with the rest of his forces to attack Pogdân, or Bogdân, who had invested Celium, or Kilia, a city on the Danube. The troops left to follow the Othmâns, had the rashness, contrary to their instructions, to engage the army, and were routed with the loss of two thousand men; a disaster which gave Mohammed an opportunity to range the country unmolested, and carry off two hundred thousand head of cattle, oxen, and horses.

Vladus expelled.

The soltân left behind him Drakula, brother of Vladus, who, by his intrigues, gained so strong a party among the Walakhians, already disaffected to Vladus on account of his cruelty, that, by help of the Turkish troops left on the frontiers, he began to conquer the country. Vladus, finding himself abandoned by his people, retired into Hungary, where, being accused before king Mathias, son of Huniades, by the relations and friends of those he had murdered, a rigorous sentence was passed upon him, pursuant to which he was sent prisoner to Belgrade, where he remained in confinement ten years. At length, being set at liberty, he was slain in a battle against the Turks.

A D. 1462. In 867, Mohammed ordered the Katirga Iimanni, that is, the *Three-oared Port*, to be made towards the south, within the walls of the city. Whilst he was employed in this work, the Greeks, in conjunction with the Venetians, raised commotions in the Morea; and having taken Ghinghetjinnik, Sada, Ghiuzeljé Hissar, Duraj, and Ezornik, tried to drive the Turks out of that province; but Mohemmed Pasha being sent with a great army to chastise the rebels, came on them so unexpectedly, that he not only recovered those cities, but subdued the country of Kojeh Hersek, or Old Illyria. The soltân, by way of thanksgiving for his victories, ordered the church of the Holy Apostles to be demolished, and a large jami, called, after his name, Mohammedieh, to be built in its room; which structure, scarce to be paralleled by the wonders of antiquity, was ten years in building.

Other conquests.

Hejra 868. A.D. 1463. In 868, assembling a great army, he vanquished and slew the prince of Bosnia, then placed strong garrisons in

[1] Dukas, cap. 45. Khalk, lib. ix. cap. 14—16.

the

the caſtles, and, in his return, ſtrengthened the borders between that country and Albania, by erecting fortreſſes in the narrow paſſages of the mountains [k].

The war of the Morea, which is placed firſt by the Turkiſh, is, as it frequently happens in other caſes, placed laſt by the Chriſtian hiſtorians, who are more diffuſive in their relation of facts. Mohammed having, after the Walakhian expedition, built ſeveral caſtles, and among the reſt, the ſaray, or ſeraglio, at Conſtantinople, and the caſtles on the Helleſpont, next ſpring made war on the Illyrians inhabiting Boſnia, becauſe their prince peremptorily refuſed to pay the uſual tribute of fifty thouſand ducats. At the ſame time he reſolved to invade the country of Sandal, the baſtard ſon of him who before commanded the Illyrians. The brothers, quarrelling about the poſſeſſion of their father's territories, referred the deciſion to Mohammed, who adjudged it to Sandal, and ordered Iſhâk governor of the Skopians, to aſſiſt him; hereupon Sandal made war on his brothers, and ravaged the country.

Boſnia invaded and ſubdued.

Mohammed, having croſſed the river Dorobiza, which ſeparates the Triballians from the Illyrians, marched to the Illyriſſus, which having paſſed on rafts, he ſuddenly overran the country, and laid ſiege to the city of Dorobiza. This place, though exceeding ſtrong, and of difficult approach, ſituate on a high mountain, after a few days bombarding, capitulated. He afterwards ſent Mahmûd Bâſhâ to ſurpriſe the prince of the Illyrians; who, on his approach, fled to the city of Klitia, ſituated in a marſhy ſoil, ſo that it was inacceſſible in winter; but the ground being dried by the heat of the ſummer ſun, the Bâſhâ advanced to the very ditch, and prepared to attack the place. Hereupon it was ſurrendered to him, on condition that the lives of the prince and the inhabitants, with their effects, ſhould be ſaved.

The country of Sandal reached to the very gates of Raguſa, with which he had ſome diſpute. Having engaged in an amour with the wife of a Florentine merchant, he began to treat his princeſs with contempt. She, not brooking this ill uſage, retired, with her ſon, a youth, to the Raguſans; who refuſed to ſend her back unleſs Sandal parted with his miſtreſs. Hereupon he declared war againſt them, and meeting their army, the command of which they had given to his ſon, he defeated the enemy,

Country of Sandal ſubdued, with others.

[k] Cant. p. 108, & ſeq.

and then invited the soltân to join him against the prince of the Illyrians; but finding the Turks came in greater numbers than he desired, he stood on his guard to defend his country.

Mahmûd Bâshâ, having performed this service, went to meet the soltân; who, in the mean time, had marched to Jaytia, the capital of all the Illyrians, which immediately surrendered to him, frightened at the taking of Dorobiza, their strongest fortress. Several places submitted to the Bâshâ in his way, by order of their prince, whom Mohammed carried with him into the country of Sandal; for now all the Illyrians were subdued. The soltân, presently after, sent to Ragusa to demand Sandal's wife; but she, who had foreseen as much, retired in time to Italy. Then gathering all his forces, he entered the country of Sandal, which he ravaged from one end to the other, and laid siege to his capital city; but not being able to reduce it, after a few assaults, turned his arms against the territories of Constantine, Karaguşa, and Paul, who all submitted to him, and were carried away prisoners. As to the prince of the Illyrians, having been taken one morning endeavouring to make his escape, Mohammed sent for him, and notwithstanding the Bâshâ's letters of security, caused his head to be cut off on the spot; some say he was flayed alive [1].

Wars with Skânder Beg and the Venetians.

Venetians declare war.

THE Venetians, who were his next neighbours, saw, with a jealous eye, the successes of Mohammed; and although the Turks, on several occasions, had used their subjects ill, yet were afraid to take up arms. At length Joshua, son of Alban, having seized Argos by the treachery of a priest, and Omar, son of Turakan, made inroads on the territory of Naupactus; while both of them plundered the lands near Modon, in the Morea, which belonged to the Venetians, Victorio Capelli, by a generous speech, prevailed on the senate to invite the Hungarians to a confederacy, and then declare war. Ambassadors being sent on that occasion, with twenty-five thousand ducats as a present, king Mathias, son of Huniades, raised forces, and entering unexpectedly into the Othmân territories, demolished the fortifications built by Sabutin

[1] Khalk. lib. x. cap. 7 & seq.

to

to block up Belgrade; then, advancing as far as the Save routed the Turks and Triballians, who oppoſed him, and carried back twenty thouſand ſlaves, which was all the work performed by the Hungarians.

Invade the Morea.

The Venetians, on the other ſide, immediately put to ſea thirty-five gallies and twelve great ſhips, filled with infantry, and two thouſand light horſe, under the command of Aloyſio Loridano. They were joined alſo by four thouſand outlaws from Kandia. Theſe landing in the Morea, excited the inhabitants to a general revolt. The Turkiſh governor, who reſided at Megalopolis, or Leontarium, immediately ſent advice of theſe motions to the Porte; while the Venetians, marching from Nauplium, laid ſiege to Argos, which preſently ſurrendered, there being no more than fifty janizaries in garriſon, who had liberty to withdraw with their baggage.

Repair the wall.

The firſt care of the Greeks and Albanians was to repair the wall of the iſthmus, as well to prevent the eſcape of the janizaries diſperſed in the garriſons, as to keep out the enemy; and by the aſſiſtance of the Venetians, who brought ſtones and other materials by ſea, that fortification was, in a few days, put in a ſtate of defence. Mean while they ſolicited the people on every ſide to join them; but thoſe of Korinth rejecting their propoſals, they laid ſiege to that city, which yet they were forced to raiſe. They failed alſo to detach Akhaia from Mohammed; nor did any city of Lakonia revolt to them excepting Sparta; for the Turks continually ſcoured the roads on all ſides, and thus diſconcerted their meaſures. In ſhort, it being winter time, and very cold weather, the ſoldiers could hardly be prevailed on to guard the wall; at length, news arriving that Mahmûd Bâſhâ approached with a great army, and was followed by the ſoltân himſelf at the head of more numerous forces, it was thought fit to abandon the iſthmus, and retire to the places which were in their hands.

Abandon it.

Morea recovered.

Mean while the Turks were no leſs afraid of the Venetians; for the Bâſhâ being come to Lariſſa, Omar, governor of Theſſaly, adviſed him to proceed no farther, till he ſent to inform the ſoltân, that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary, the affair being of too great importance for his generals to execute: but ſoon after letters arriving with an account how matters ſtood, Mahmûd marched forward, and finding the wall deſerted, and the ſhips put out to ſea, took his road by Korinth, directly for Argos, which was defended by ſeventy Italians, whom he took

prisoners: then passing through the country of Tegea he encamped near Leontarium, from whence he detached Zogan, newly made governor of the Morea, in the room of Joshua, son of Alban, to furnish Pattras, and other neighbouring places, with provision and military stores. At the same time he sent Omar to ravage the Venetian territories, with twenty thousand men, who, near Modon took a town by assault; the inhabitants, about five hundred in number, being sent to Constantinople, were cut in two by the middle, in the presence of the soltân.

The Bâshâ, finding the season unfit for attacking fortresses, left Omar and Asan at Sparta, to persuade the inhabitants of that city, Tenarus, Epidaurus, and other places, to return to their obedience: but although they were strangely alarmed at the unexpected entrance of the Turks into the Morea, and many had fled to the mountains for security; yet, buoyed up by the Venetians, who promised great matters, from their own and the Hungarian invasion, they would hearken to no accomodation.

Venetians take Lemnos.

Mean time, the Venetians recovered Lemnos, by means of one Komnenus, captain of the fortress; who prevented the principal men of the island from selling it to those Italians, by delivering it up to them. After which acquisition, they returned to the Morea, with store of provisions to supply the fortresses [m].

Kominius or Komnenus, who had surprised the island of Lemnos from the Turks, was succeeded in his command by Ursato Justiniani, who scoured the Egean sea with thirty-two gallies; while Andreo Dandalo, by land, rashly engaging the Turkish horse, near Mantinea, was defeated and slain, with one thousand five hundred of his men. Ursato had still worse luck at the siege of Mitylene, in Lesbos; where, in two assaults, he lost five thousand men; for grief of which he died soon after in the Morea, and was succeeded in command by Jacomo Laurentani.

Skander Beg declares war.

The Venetians, much weakened by these losses, solicited the pope; who procured them great supplies from Germany, France, Spain, and other countries. They also intreated Skânder Beg to renounce his league with Mohammed, and join with them. The soltân, fearing that prince should be made general of the Christian forces, sent to him; offering to pardon some inroads of the Epirots, in case he would renew the league: but Skânder

[m] Khalk. lib. x. cap. 7—11.

Beg

Beg having at this time received a letter from the pope, ſignifying that he, accompanied by the Chriſtian princes, would ſpeedily paſs over to Epirus with a ſtrong army, and exhorting him to declare war againſt the Turks, that prince broke into the Othmân dominions; and, ravaging the country every where, returned with conſiderable plunder.

Mohammed, to put a ſtop to Skânder Beg's career, ſent Seremet Bâſhâ, with fourteen thouſand men; who poſted himſelf near Okrida, in Macedonia. The prince, informed of his deſign, having placed twelve thouſand men in ambuſh, ſent out five hundred horſe, with orders, in caſe they could not draw the enemy into the field, to retire on the leaſt oppoſition, and ſo decoy them into the ſnare; which ſtratagem taking effect, the Turks were attacked on every ſide, and loſt twenty thouſand men. The treaſurer of the army, with twelve other conſiderable officers, were taken priſoners, and ranſomed for forty thouſand ducats. Skânder Beg, on this ſucceſs, returned to Epirus, expecting the arrival of the Chriſtian forces: but the death of pope Pius, at Amana, as he was ready to embark with them, ſuddenly diſperſed the army, to the great diſappointment of thoſe who depended on its aſſiſtance. *His great victories.* A.D. 1464.

However, the Venetians, having made Vitorio Capelli their captain-general, went on with the war; and, in a ſhort time, took Aulis, in the iſle of Eubæa or Negropont, Lirſum, in the gulf of Theſſalonika, and the iſle of Himber. Then landing his men at Pyræum, he ſurpriſed Athens: from whence he carried all the people, with the plunder, to Eubæa. Here, being informed, that Pattras, in the Morea, would be delivered up to him by the Chriſtian inhabitants, he landed four thouſand foot and two hundred horſe; who, advancing in diſorder within a mile of the city, were routed by the Turkiſh garriſon. In this action, Barbarini, who led the foot, was ſlain: Ragio, who commanded the horſe, being taken, was impaled; and ſcarce one thouſand of the men eſcaped to the gallies. Capelli was ſo concerned at this loſs, and that which he ſuſtained in his ſecond attempt on Pattras, that he ſoon after died of grief, in Eubæa. *Venetians unſucceſsful.*

The Venetians, much diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs, applied for aſſiſtance to Mathias Korvini, ſon of the famous Huniades, king of Hungary; who, taking their territories under his protection, early in the ſpring paſſed *Servia ravaged.*

the

A.D. 1465. the Danube, at Belgrade, with a great army; and, razing the forts which the Turks had built there, entered Servia, from whence he returned with twenty thousand prisoners, besides vast plunder.

Balibanus defeated by Skander Beg.

In the mean time, Mohammed, to revenge the late overthrow of Seremet Bâshâ, sent fifteen thousand horse and three thousand foot into Epirus, under the command of Balibanus Budera, an Epirot born, but bred a Mohammedan, and the first who mounted the wall at the taking of Constantinople. This general, arriving at Alchria, on the frontiers of Epirus, attempted to surprise Skânder Beg; who was incamped with a few troops in the neighbourhood: but, missing of his aim, soon after advanced towards a rugged hill, which incloses part of the valley of Valkhal, where that prince then lay with four thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, who, on the other's approach, retired to a hill behind them. Balibanus, taking this for a flight, hastily came forward to attack him; but, after a long and doubtful battle, was routed. However, some of Skânder Beg's best officers, pursuing the enemy beyond their orders, were surrounded, and, after a desperate resistance, taken prisoners. Among these were the famous Moses Galanus, Musachius, Giuiza, Perlot, and others. They were all sent to Constantinople, whither Skânder Beg dispatched an ambassador to obtain their freedom; but the soltân, rejecting his proposal for either exchange or ransom, after treating them in the most opprobious manner, caused them all to be flayed alive; under which torment they lived fifteen days.

Defeated again.

Balibanus, after having corrupted Skânder Beg's scouts, would have surprised him in his camp at Oronîkheum; if he himself, ever on the watch, had not, in the dead of night, discovered the enemy at a distance, by the noise of their horses. Then, quickly putting his army in order, he gave them such a warm reception, that the greater part of them were slain; the general and the rest with difficulty escaping. Balibanus, finding artifice would not do, and having a recruit of fourteen thousand horse and three thousand foot, marched to the great plains of Sfetigrade to attack Skânder Beg; who, with only eight thousand horse and one thousand five hundred foot, performed wonders. In the battle, his horse being slain, and himself bruised in the fall, the Turks flocked about to kill him; but he was rescued by his soldiers; and presently after having killed with his own hand Solymân, a great

Turkish

Turkiſh commander, the enemy fled: while the victors, purſuing, made a great ſlaughter, ſo that but a few, with Balibanus himſelf, eſcaped.

This commander, on his return to Conſtantinople, aſcribed his ill ſucceſs to the ſmall number of his forces; and, having applied for a ſtrong body of troops, he was diſpatched to Epirus with forty thouſand men. Of theſe taking twenty thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot, he marched the neareſt way to Epirus, leaving Yakûb Arnaud, otherwiſe named James the Epirot, with ſixteen thouſand horſe, to take another route, and ſo hem in Skânder Beg between them. Being arrived at the valley of Valkhal, the prince, who had eight thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot, marched towards him. He would have waited till Yakûb came up; but his ſoldiers being impatient to engage, a fierce battle was fought; when, in the midſt of the engagement, the old garriſon of Kroja arriving to the aſſiſtance of the Epirots, the Turks were overthrown with great ſlaughter, only Balibanus and a few more eſcaping. The Chriſtians had ſcarce time to breathe, when Yakûb advanced with his forces, and, though much diſcouraged when he found Balibanus had been defeated, yet did not decline the combat: but Skânder Beg made ſhort work of it; for having ſingled out the general, he attacked and ſlew him; on which the Turks fled, and in the purſuit were moſt of them ſlain or taken. They loſt in the two battles thirty thouſand men, whereof ſix thouſand were priſoners [n].

A third victory.

Yakûb ſlain.

During theſe tranſactions, Karaman Ogli Ibrahim Beg, the inveterate enemy of the Othmân race, died, leaving ſix ſons. Iſhâk Beg, the eldeſt, having driven out his brothers, and ſeized the whole dominion, they fled to Mohammed, whom they deſired to appoint a ſucceſſor, according to his pleaſure. The ſoltân, glad of the occaſion, name Ahmed Beg; and, advancing the reſt to honours in his own court, ſent him back at the head of a conſiderable army; with which he enters Karamania, and defeated his brother, who fled to Uzûn Haſſan [o].

Karamanian troubles.

To return to the affairs of Skânder Beg. The ſoltân, as the ſureſt way to get rid of him, hired two Turks to aſſaſſinate him. The better to ſucceed in their deſign, they turned Chriſtians; but quarreling on ſome occaſion, and letting drop ſome ſuſpicious words, on ſtrict examination confeſſed the matter, and were executed. After this miſ-

Kroja beſieged.

[n] Ricaut, ubi ſupr. [o] Cant. p. 109, & ſeq.

carriage

carriage Mohammed marched into Epirus with two hundred thousand men, and invested Kroja; but fearing to be disgraced before it, as his father had been, left Balibanus, with twenty-three thousand men and eight generals more, each with seven thousand under his command, to continue the siege. In his return to Constantinople, he took some forts from Skânder Beg; corrupting the governor of Khidna, where three thousand men were in garrison, the place was delivered to him, and all the inhabitants, contrary to articles, put to the sword.

Relieved by Skânder Beg.

Skander Beg, unable to relieve Kroja, went privately to Rome to desire aid of pope Paul II. but could obtain none. However, on his return, finding the succours which he had demanded of the Venetians and other princes arrived, he in a few days made up an army of thirteen thousand four hundred men; with whom he marched towards Kroja. By the way, he surprised Ionima and Hadar, going with a supply to their brother Balibanus, routed their men, and took them both prisoners. Then, coming up with the besiegers, drove them from Mount Kruma, their chief post, and nearest to Kroja. Upon this relief, the city rejected the proposals for surrendering made by Balibanus; who at the same time advancing against part of the garrison, which had made a sally, was shot by George Alexius through the neck; of which wound he died. The Turks were so discouraged at this accident, that they silently retired, leaving their camp behind them; and, finding the passes of the mountains stopped, offered to deliver up their horses and arms for liberty to depart: but this being denied them, they resolved to fight their way through; a retreat which, after much loss, they effected.

Balibanus slain.

A.D. 1466.

In the spring following, Mohammed marched once more with a mighty army into Epirus: where having rebuilt the city of Valmes, he advanced towards Durazzo, belonging to the Venetians, with a view to surprise it. Being disappointed in his aim, after some time he decamped from before it, and laid siege to Kroja; but, finding he could not prevail on the inhabitants, either by threats or promises, to surrender, he went and razed Khiuril, a city newly founded by Skânder Beg, and then returned to Constantinople.

Mohammed invades Epirus.

Skânder Beg dies.

Shânder Beg, having made a progress through his kingdom to view the state of it, went to Lyssa, a city of the Venetians, there to consult with the ambassadors of the confederate princes, particularly about taking Valmes above mentioned; which was a great annoyance to the Epirots.

Epirots. Here, being seized with a fever, he died the 17th of January, 1466, after he had recommended his wife and son to the protection of the republic, having lived sixty-three years, and reigned twenty-four. His body was buried in the cathedral, and there rested about nine years, when the Turks took Lyssa, and with great respect dug up his bones. Some thought themselves happy to see and touch them; and such as could obtain a bit, set it in gold or silver, to wear about them, superstitiously imagining, that they should partake of the owner's good fortune [p].

Albania reduced.

The Turkish historians take no notice of Skânder Beg's death; but speak as if Epirus was entirely subdued about this time. Crouding the transactions of several years into one, they only tell us, in short, that Mohammed, to finish the reduction of Arnaud, or Albania, which his father Morâd had begun, by vanquishing Skânder Beg, its rebellious prince, and subduing most of the fortresses, marched thither in 870, and took all the remaining towns from the rebels. Some of them he demolished, and, to prevent future commotions, commanded a strong city to be built at the entrance of the province.

Hejra 870. A.D. 1465.

Karamânia subdued.

The soltân, having now subdued almost all his intestine enemies in Europe, passed over into Asia. Resolving to revenge the injuries done to his ancestors by the Karamanian kings, he entered their country with a great army; and expelling Ahmed, with his brothers, made his eldest son Mostafa king of Karamânia; which next year he entirely subdued, placing garrisons in Ak Saray and Ghiulluk [q].

Bosnia recovered.

During the transactions in Epirus, the Hungarians by land, and Venetians by sea, kept the Turks in continual play. King Mathias, pursuant to this promise to the latter, entered Bosnia, and never ceased till he had wrested the whole kingdom out of the hands of the Turks. These afterwards endeavoured to recover Jaziga, the capital, but were forced to raise the siege; and being followed by the king into Servia, he took part of that kingdom also from them: by which actions his name became as dreadful to the Othmâns as that of his father Huniades had been.

Venetian successes.

On the other side, the Venetians, and their captain-general Canalis, burned several towns and villages about the bay of Salonîki, or Thessalonika, fortified Legostinum in the gulf of Pattras, and surprised Ænus at the mouth of the river Hebrus; from whence Canalis returned to Ne-

[p] Ricaut. ubi supr. [q] Cantemir's Othm. Hist. p. 110.

gropont

gropont with one thousand captives. At the same time, the Venetians assisting Nicholas Du Chaine against his brother Alexius, then at variance about the principality of Zadrima, gave the Turks a great overthrow near the river Drino, in Epirus, or Albania.

Hejra 874. A.D. 1469. The island of Egriboz or Negropont, the ancient Euboea, being the only place in Europe which seemed formidable to Mohammed, he, in 874, marched with a great army attended by a fleet, into Greece; and, in one month, took the strongest city of that age, in sight of a considerable fleet of Venetians; who, after coming to the assistance of the besieged, retired, to their great dishonour, without firing a gun[r]. With regard to this remarkable action, the Christian writers tell us, that, as the island of Negropont lay very convenient for invading the Othmân sea-coast, and afforded the Venetians an easy retreat, Mohammed resolved to take it from them. With this view he sent thither three hundred gallies, under Mahmûd, the great bâshâ, and followed him in person with a numerous army. At his landing, he took and razed Stora and Basilikon. Then, laying a bridge of boats over the strait between the island and Akhai, he raised batteries against Khalcide, or Negropont, the capital city, by the direction of a traitor, who shewed his engineers the weakest parts of the wall; for which, being discovered, he was hanged. After thirty days siege, the Venetian admiral came in sight of the city; at whose appearance Mohammed was inclined to decamp, for fear the enemy should break his bridge, and so cut off his communication with the firm land; but the admiral basely slipped the opportunity, while the Turks, pushing on the siege with double fury, at length carried the place by storm. The assault lasted a whole day and night; yet, after they had been twice beaten off the breaches, they entered, and slew all the inhabitants. The governor's daughter was spared, and presented to Mohammed as a mirror of beauty; but she, with great constancy, refusing to gratify his passion, he ordered her to be slain. This great loss the Venetians endeavoured to repair not long after, by surprising the island, but failed in the attempt[s].

City of Negropont.

A.D. 1470.

Taken by Mohammed.

The island subdued.

A.D. 1471. These conquests induced several strong cities to submit to the soltân; and, in 876, Kizul Arslân Beg, lord of Alaeh, voluntarily surrendered his dominions. In return for which, Mohammed bestowed on him the province of Ghiumo'ljina for ever.

[r] Cant. p. 111. [s] Ricaut, ubi supr.

The

The Venetians, to prevent farther miſchief, not only entered into a confederacy with pope Sixtus IV. Ferdinand, king of Naples, Lewis, king of Cyprus, and the grand-maſter of Rhodes, but ſent Katarini Zeno to Uzûn Haſſan, with large preſents, to induce him to make war on Mohammed; who, by his ambaſſadors, alſo endeavoured to diſſuade him from a rupture. Mean while, their captain-general, Mocenigo, with his fleet, ravaged the iſland of Leſbos, or Mitylene, and the country about Pergamus, in Leſſer Aſia. Afterwards, landing at Knidus, he carried off a great booty. Then joining ſeventeen gallies of king Ferdinand at Modon, he returned to Aſia; and, pillaging the coaſt for four days, ſet ſail for Hallikarnaſſus, where they took an immenſe ſpoil. There being joined by twenty gallies of the pope, and two from Rhodes, they ſailed to Samos, and thence to Attalia, capital of Pamphilia, whoſe ſuburbs they plundered and burnt; but not being able to take the city, they ravaged the coaſt, and returned to Rhodes. There they met with the king of Perſia's ambaſſadors, ſent to the pope and Venetians for a ſupply of great guns by his maſter, who had entered into a league with the Chriſtian princes againſt Mohammed. The fleet next ſailed to Karia; and carried from thence great ſpoil to Naxos. Here the gallies of Naples returned home, while Mocenigo, with the legate, ſailed back to Aſia, and took Smyrna, which he plundered and fired. Then, winter coming on, he returned home likewiſe. A.D 1472. *Venetians ravage the the Turkiſh coaſts.*

Next year Mocinego ſailed again to the coaſt of Aſia; and, aſſiſting Kaſſam Beg, prince of Cilicia, who with his brother Pîr Ahmed had been diſpoſſeſſed by Mohammed, they recovered Sikhinum, Korîkus, and at length Seleucia. Then, having ravaged the country of Lydia, he returned to the Morea[r]. A.D.1473.

About the ſame time Yuſef Beg general of Uzûn Haſſan, in conjunction with a great army of Tatars, entered the Othmân dominions, and burned Tokâd; but invading Karamania, he was met by Moſtafa the new king; and, after a long and bloody battle, being defeated and taken, was ſent in chains to the ſoltân. To revenge this blow, Uzûn Haſſan himſelf, next year, entered the Othmân dominions with a powerful army. Mohammed, who expected this invaſion, haſtened over to Aſia, and met the Perſians at Payas; where a battle was fought with doubtful ſucceſs; but at length Moſtafa, the ſoltân's eldeſt ſon, A.D.1470. *The ſoltân defeats Uzûn Haſſan.*

[r] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

who

who commanded the left-wing, meeting Zeyno'ddîn, Uzûn Haſſan's ſon, who led the enemy's right-wing, after a fierce combat, unhorſed him, and before he could recover himſelf, ran him through the body. Upon this, the right-wing flying, the Othmâns attacked the left ſo furiouſly, that at length they betook themſelves alſo to flight, Uzûn Haſſan eſcaping with a few attendants only [s].

Varſak conquered. The roads being too difficult for a purſuit, Mohammed beſieged Kara Hiſſar Sharki (T), which he ſoon reduced, and then returned with part of his army, leaving the reſt under the command of Ghiedîk Ahmed Pâſhâ; who not only took Ermenak and Zilifkeh, but ſubdued the whole province of Varſak.

Hejra 876. A.D. 1471. Next year the ſame Pâſhâ wreſted from the Genoeſe, Kieffe, or Kaffa, the ſtrongeſt place in Krîm, which by that conqueſt was reduced to his obedience. Here he found Mengli Ghieray, deſcended from the princes of Kopchâk; who, after a long war with his brother, was forced to fly to the Genoeſe. Him the ſoltân appointed khân of the Krîm, or Taurica Kherſoneſus, and ſent with an army to recover his country; an aim which he effected, after having killed his brother in battle. This was the firſt khân of Tatary appointed by the Turks, and the firſt who in Krîm ordered the khotba to be uſed in the prayers in the name of the Othmân emperor.

Kaffa taken.

Defeated in Moldavia. Whilſt theſe things paſſed in the Krîm, Solymân Pâſhâ led a conſiderable army into Moldavia; where, being met by Stephen near Falchi, on the Prut, a long and doubtful battle enſued; but at laſt, by the negligence of their general, the Othmâns were overthrown, and himſelf killed. Mohammed, alarmed at this diſaſter, marched next year with all his forces into the ſame country; which he layed waſte, and carried away an infinite number of cattle and inhabitants [t].

A.D. 1477. In the mean time Kroja in Albania being beſieged by the Turks, the Venetians, under whoſe protection it was, ſent Franciſco Contareni with an army; who meeting the enemy in the plains of Tyranna, routed them, after a very ſharp conteſt; but the ſoldiers falling greedily to plunder, the Othmâns rallied and defeated them, killing one thouſand, with their general. After this action they not only made divers incurſions into the countries of Dalmatia, If-

Beſieges Kroja.

[s] Cant. p. 111. [t] Ibid. 112, & ſeqq.

(T) A noted city of Paphlagonia, near Payas.

tria,

tria, and Carniola, but, having routed some Venetian troops at the river Sontium, ravaged the province of Friuli at their pleasure. They committed the same spoil the following year in the mountains towards Germany; and, after a twelve-month's siege, Skodra surrendered for want of provisions. A.D. 1478. *Venetians routed.*

Mohammed, to revenge the repulse he met with before Skodra, or Skutari, a strong city of the Venetians, in Albania, about four years before, sent Ali Beg to besiege it a second time with eighty thousand men; who in their march burnt and destroyed the country. May 14th, they arrived at the suburbs, and in a month were joined by fifty thousand troops. Having cast cannon, and built a wooden bridge over the river, they began the 20th of June to batter the walls with their artillery and mortars. July 2d, the soltân himself arrived with his whole force, amounting in all to three hundred and fifty thousand men. At length, breaches being made, the Turks gave several desperate assaults; and, though they fixed their standards four or five times on the rampart, were still beaten off, once with the loss of twelve thousand men; while the besieged lost no more than four hundred. Mohammed, despairing of taking the place by force, after seven fruitless attacks, changed the siege into a blockade. Mean while, Daud Gayola, great bâshâ of Constantinople, being sent to take the lesser cities of the Venetians, reduced Zabiakhe, on the lake of Skutari; and Lyssa, which the inhabitants deserted and fired. Drivasta also was subdued by Mostafa, beglerbeg of Asia. The soltân, leaving Ghedûk Ahmed to take care of the blockade with forty thousand men, returned to Constantinople. *Skodra invested;*

Mean while the Venetians, seeing themselves unfortunate in every quarter, sent Trevisano to the Porte; who at length, in 1478, concluded a peace, by giving up Skodra, the isle of Lemnos, and the strong castle of Tenarus in the Morea, besides paying yearly near eight thousand ducats; for which they were entitled to traffick freely to the Euxine Sea, and other parts of the soltân's dominions [u]. *surrendered on peace with the Turks.*

In 884, Mohammed furnished Alao'ddîn Beg with an army; by whose assistance he vanquished his father Badag Beg, and obliged him to fly to Cherkassi, king of Mesr. Hejra 884. A.D. 1479.

Next year, he equipped a great fleet, under Ghiedîk Ahmed Pâshâ, to lay waste Italy. But this general, after

[u] Ricaut, ubi supra.

having ravaged Apulia, and taking some fortresses, was in the midst of his progress recalled, on account of the new attempts of Uzûn Hassan. He was soon followed by a Venetian ambassador, who humbly sued for peace; which the sultân at that juncture readily granted: but it was not lasting; for, in 886, Mesîh Pâshâ was sent with a great fleet to subdue Rhodes; yet was forced to raise the siege, with great loss and dishonour [w].

Hejra 886. A.D. 1481.

A.D. 1481.

Rhodes besieged.

The sultân was urged to this siege of Rhodes by Antonius Meligalus, a fugitive knight; who, falling sick by the way, was thrown overboard by the Turks, and drowned. The Othmân army, consisting of eighty thousand men, conducted by Demetrius, another treacherous knight of Rhodes, landed the 22d of June. The bâshâ, after having battered the walls for some time, made a breach; but Peter D'Amboise, the grand-master, raised such works before it, that Mesîh would not venture to give the assault. However, a report being spread, that Mohammed was coming with a hundred thousand men, and a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, it much terrified the besieged, especially the Spaniards. At the same time a plot was discovered, to poison the grand-master, set on foot by the bâshâ; who, having made a bridge over a narrow arm of the sea, in order to batter St. Nicholas's towers, Gervaise Rogers, an Englishman, found means in the night to cut the cables, and break it. However, a new bridge being made, the tower was battered for a while both by sea and land, till that bridge also was broken by the cannon of the place.

The siege raised.

The bâshâ then tempted the grand-master with great promises to surrender the city; but finding he could not prevail with him either to do that or pay tribute, he renewed his batteries with double fury; and a large breach being made, the Turks advanced to the assault, but were gallantly repulsed, while five hundred of those who had scaled the walls in another place, were slain. The whole loss amounted to about five thousand men. The grand-master received four wounds in the attack. The bâshâ, discouraged by his ill success, and the rumour that the Christian princes were coming to the relief of Rhodes, raised the siege, and left the island on the 17th of August.

[w] Cant. p. 114, & seqq.

Mohamme

Mohammed, hoping that if he failed in one place he would succeed in another, embarked a great army at Vallona, or Aulona, a maritime town on the borders of Macedonia, under the command of Ghedûk Ahmed, with design to get footing in Italy. The bâshâ landed in Apulia, near Otranto, and after ravaging the coast, took the city; which being the key of that part of Italy, he caused to be strongly fortified, and victualled for eighteen months. Then he sailed back to Constantinople, with an intention to return in the spring, and prosecute his designs; but, luckily for Italy, he was diverted by the troubles raised in Asia [x]. *Italy invaded.* *Otranto taken.*

That summer the soltân assembled all the forces of the Othmân empire; and, passing the Bosphorus, near Yuzkinder, pitched his tent under Maltepé, with a view to frustrate the designs of Uzûn Hassan; but being in this place attacked by a violent fit of the gout, accompanied with other disorders, he died in a few days, leaving the empire to his son Bâ-yezîd. *Mohammed dies.*

Mohammed lived fifty-one years, and reigned thirty, and three months, exclusive of the time he ruled in his father's life-time.

Besides his warlike virtues, of which he gave eminent proofs, he was famous for learning, wisdom, and a thrift after knowlege, for his proficiency in languages, and patience in labours. He was also religious; in short, an accomplished prince, if he had been less cruel, and a more scrupulous observer of good faith. *His character.*

According to the Christian writers, he had nothing in his outward appearance answerable to the greatness of his mind. He was low of stature, and square set; large limbed, and of great strength. His complexion was sallow and melancholy, his looks were stern, his eyes a little sunk in his head, yet piercing; his nose so high and crooked that it almost touched his upper lip (U). He had very acute parts; was skilled in the Turkish learning, especially astronomy; and could speak Greek, Latin, Arabic, Chaldee, and Persic. He delighted much in his- *And person.*

[x] Ricaut, ubi supra.

(U) His nose is not represented so much hooked in his picture given us by prince Cantemir. This soltân sent for Gentil Bellin from Venice, to draw his face, and nobly rewarded him.

tory;

tory; was very courageous, and fortunate. He punished theft and all sorts of injustice with great severity. He had a great esteem for men who excelled in any art or science. But to balance these virtues, they say, that he had no regard for religion, or his treaties; was very ambitious, and a great dissembler; that he delighted in blood; and that his least displeasure was attended with death[y].

y Cant. p. 115.]

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